ANECDOTES

OF

HENRY IV. OF FRANCE,

SHEWING THE

GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT

HE GAVE TO

LITERATURE.

WITH

SEVERAL OF HIS LETTERS,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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ANECDOTES

OF

HENRY THE FOURTH

OF

FRANCE.

HENRY the Fourth, like all other Princes who are truly great, protected and encouraged the learned, by heaping favours on them. I know not how a contrary opinion was able to eſtabliſh itſelf. * He has been accuſed of not being fond of Literature. We have this odious imputation too much at heart, not to vindicate him entirely from it. And why ſhould he not be fond of learning? He had great ſenſe, was a good man, and had performed the moſt noble actions.

* D'Aubigné, Fauchet, &c.

All men of letters ſpoke highly of him. It is only bad princes, who can fear the voice of the learned, becauſe they ſee in them the diſpenſers of their characters, and that ſooner or later their united voices will fix even the reputation of kings. But whoever feels himſelf born for glory, will admire the fine verſes which immortalize their noble deeds. This is a maxim, which has never yet been diſputed: *Carmen amat quiſquis carmine digna facit.* We read in ancient hiſtory, that thoſe ſevere republicans the Spartans, always ſacrificed to the muſes before they went to battle, in order, as they ſaid, that theſe goddeſſes being always preſent to their minds, ſhould induce them to perform actions worthy to be remembered; an equally juſt and ingenious emblem of the noble ſentiment which animates thoſe who are ambitious of the approbation of poſterity. If we can make it appear that Henry the Fourth, (inſtead of ſhewing that contempt for letters, which ſome peeviſh, or prejudiced authors have dared to ſuppoſe) that he alſo did not diſdain to ſacrifice to the muſes, we may perhaps flatter ourſelves

ſelves with having a new trait in his praiſe; it is one more flower which we wiſh to fix on the immortal garlands which ſurround the ſtatue of this great man. Doubtleſs Henry was not deſtined to enlarge the liſt of authors, already too numerous. Francis the Firſt, the reſtorer of letters; Louis the Fourteenth, who ſo greatly extended their empire, both protected men of learning, but were not ſuch themſelves. Henry 4th, as brilliant as the firſt, and much more inſtructed than the laſt, wrote infinitely better than either of theſe two princes. He was a man in his own times, who perhaps poſſeſſed the moſt lively, delicate, and ingenious underſtanding, but bred up in camps, from the age of fourteen, he had no opportunity to cultivate this happy gift of nature. He could give but few minutes to ſtudy. The continual agitation, the tumult of arms, the torrent of buſineſs in which his younger days were paſſed, carried him far away from his commerce with the muſes: but the ſeeds which were ſown in his ductile and gentle mind, by the wife *La Gaucherie*, and the learned *Florent Chretien*,

were never loſt. He preſerved his taſte for letters, he always loved thoſe who cultivated them, and when he found himſelf ſeated peaceably on his throne, where, during forty years he had met with nothing but civil diſcords, he did all in his power to rekindle the flambeaus of ſcience. We ſhall not repeat here what has been ſaid elſewhere of his education (1). In general, that of Proteſtants is more attended to than Catholics. Jane d'Albret, who inherited all the wiſdom of the famous Queen of Navarre, her mother, was the moſt learned, and moſt ſenſible woman of the age. (2.) She frequently ſaid, ſhe would not have her ſon an illuſtrious ignorant: * thus they gave him ſome ſmattering of Greek, (3) and he underſtood Latin tolerably well; when he was very young he tranſlated Cæſar's Commentaries, and *Caſaubon* affirms, he had ſeen with admiration the manuſcript entire, written by the hand of the Prince. (4) He had adorned his memory with the fineſt paſſages taken from the antients, which he ſometimes repeated, and always with propriety; he had frequently in his mouth that beautiful verſe of Virgil: *Parcere ſubjectis et debellare ſuperbos.* It was ſtill more deeply engraved in his heart, he

* Memoires de Nevers, in fol. tom. II. p. 586.

he made it the rule of all his conduct far above every thing elſe; it was ſentiment, morality, and thoughts, that elevate the ſoul, which he ſought for among the poets. To Horace he gave the preference; He was fond of reading him, and explaining the moſt ſtriking parts. We read in *Baſſompiere*, that Henry repeated to him in a manner very apropos the *Linquenda Tellus* of this philoſophical poet *; nor did he leſs happily recollect in one of his letters the *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici* of Cæſar. He ſometimes, ſays *Perefixe*, made ſuch apt quotations from the antients, that even his maſters were aſtoniſhed at them. Having from his youth taken an Hercules for his device, a ſymbol of his painful and glorious labours †, he joined this motto to it, which he ſo well juſtified: *Invia virtuti nulla eſt via.* From theſe examples, and many others we could repeat, (5) we ſhall not be ſurprized to hear what the famous *Scaliger* ſaid of Henry 4th, that he muſt not ſpeak bad Latin before the king, as he would very eaſily find it out. But what will perhaps ſurprize is, that Henry was not ignorant of the Spaniſh

 tongue,

* Eſprit de Henry 4th, page 201.
† Perefixe, page 460.

tongue, and that he underſtood Italian very well, though he refrained talking it with Italians. In the firſt conference he had with the Cardinal Legate, *Forget de Freſne* interpreted what the king ſaid to the cardinal: the king had no interpreter, but anſwered to every thing the Italian ſaid, and ſupported the converſation in this manner for more than an hour *. It was Henry's mother who taught him Spaniſh, and as for Italian, it was the only thing he learned at the Court of Medicis. Henry had a diſtinguiſhed taſte for hiſtory, which is of all ſtudies the moſt proper to form men who are appointed to govern their fellow-creatures, and which for this reaſon is called by antient authors the counſellor of kings. What the minions of a court, ſays Plutarch, dare not ſay to their princes, is found in theſe books. I do not mention the Bible, Proteſtants knew that by heart; but he was neither ignorant of the Greek nor Roman hiſtory, from both which he often made very judicious applications. He had ſo high an eſteem for Titus Livius, that he ſaid one day, as Sainte Marthe relates,

* Hiſtoire de Paris, in fol. tome III. des preuves, page 475, ſous l'année 1596.

relates, he would willingly give one of his beſt Provinces to recover that part which was loſt of the works of that immortal writer. This deſire, even extravagant as it may appear, points out the enthuſiaſm with which great men ſpeak of fine talents.

Henry had particularly ſtudied the hiſtory of his predeceſſors, among whom he diſtinguiſhed Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the Firſt; in one he admired his clemency, his candour, his inexhauſtible goodneſs; in the other, his ſhining valour, his loyalty, and all thoſe qualities which form a brave officer. From his earlieſt infancy, his imagination was heated by the recital of the virtues and exploits of *Bayard*, whom with reaſon he regarded as the glory and model of all French chevaliers. The hiſtories of great men in general, had for him particular attractions, they offered to him examples, and even rivals, which he frequently ſurpaſſed. Thus Plutarch was of all authors the one he preferred the moſt. In this reſpect he thought like *Montaigne*, who ſaid, if he had only been able to preſerve one of the works of the antients, he ſhould have given the preference to Plutarch; and in effect it is

perhaps the moſt uſeful book to form the mind of an excellent citizen, and a great king. Henry had taken leſſons from it, in early infancy, it being the firſt book put into his hands (6). He had, if we may ſo ſay, drawn his morality from it. He declared afterwards when on the throne, he had the greateſt obligations to this book, and that he had taken from it excellent maxims for his own conduct, as well as for the government of his kingdom *. In a word, Plutarch was to him, what Homer was to Alexander. Perhaps it is ſufficient to remark, that Charles the 9th ſelected Machiavel as his favourite author; Guiſe, the works of Tacitus; Henry 4th, of Plutarch; by which we may judge, that one might be treacherous and cruel; the ſecond deep and ambitious; the third a man of honour, and a good king. A bad prince would never receive pleaſure from Plutarch; every commendation would become a ſaitre, and every maxim prove his condemnation. Henry had not only ſtudied the military art in camps, but he learned it from books alſo; for it is a melancholy truth, that it requires great art to learn to deſtroy our fellow creatures. Cæſar's Com-

*Eſprit de Henry 4th, p. 14, & ſon Hiſtoire par Bury.

Commentaries were familiar to him; he attentively read thoſe of *Montlue*, and although he could not like the perſecutor of his mother, nor the author of ſo many rigorous executions, he did juſtice to his military talents, and called his book the *Soldier's Bible*. So long as Henry was engaged to fight, what could be done for the advancement of learning, by a prince who led ſuch a wandering and troubleſome life, who was in want of every thing, and, as he uſed pleaſantly to ſay himſelf, *whoſe doublet was full of holes, and whoſe kettle was ſo often thrown down?* * All that was in his power he did: He enlarged the library of his anceſtors at Vendome, and gave charge of it to Florent Chretien, his old preceptor, one of the beſt modern poets in the Latin tongue (7). Mornay, a very learned proteſtant, was employed by him to collect the few good works which appeared in our own language. Sire, replied Mornay, according to your commands, I can purchaſe many fine books worthy a place in your library †. The monarch, on his part, was intereſted for the literary glory of his friend. M. du

 Pleſſis,

* Lettre à Sully.

† Memoires de Mornay, page 312, année 1584.

Pleſſis, ſaid he to him, your book * has been well received, and greatly eſteemed and praiſed by the moſt ſenſible people, which I am very glad of, not only from the good which will be derived from it, but as the work of an author whom I love, and deſire to ſhew my friendſhip to, the effects of which I deſire you to depend on for ever. At the ſame time he gave proofs of his regard and liberality to a man at that time very famous, to that Ronſard (8), too much extolled in his own age, when he was proclaimed the prince of French poetry, but ſince that, as unjuſtly debaſed, for at leaſt he had ſome of the great qualities which conſtitute a poet, and how many of them are there who are cried up in our days, who have neither the fancy or imagination of Ronſard? When peace had at length crowned the wiſhes of Henry 4th, it was then that he endeavoured to bring letters back to their former honours. During the horrors of the league, and ſince the murder of the noble Ramus, they had fled far from a place ſtained with the blood of thoſe who were their greateſt encouragers. The College Royal, deſerted

* De la Verite de la Religione Chretienne, en 1581.

ſerted for more than twenty years, had been given up to the vileſt uſes by the tyrant of Paris (9). One of Henry's firſt cares was to bring back the fugitive ſciences. A few days after his entry into the capital, Paſſerat, one of the fineſt wits of the age, opened the public ſchools by an eloquent diſcourſe, mixed with complaints of the paſt misfortunes, and juſt eulogiums of this ſecond reſtorer of letters (10). The profeſſors were all recalled, the monarch admitted them to an audience, and received them with that amiable freedom, that charming popularity, which gained him the hearts of every one; a method ſo eaſy and certain in its effects, that it appears moſt aſtoniſhing, that kings are not more frequently tempted to make uſe of it. Henry gave immediate orders that they ſhould be paid exactly what was due to them, and told them he ſhould increaſe their ſalaries one half more than they had been accuſtomed to: then turning himſelf to his courtiers, he ſaid, "I had rather have my expences leſſened, and have my table diminiſhed, than not have my profeſſors * paid; I will have them contented. M. de Roſny

* Hiſtoire du College Royal, in 4to, page 62. and 63.

ſhall pay them." Gentlemen, ſaid Roſny, others have given you paper, parchment, and wax; the king gives you his word, and I will pay you the money*. He forgot nothing to excite emulation, and revive the almoſt extinguiſhed taſte for learning; he welcomed all men of letters, even ſought after them, and encouraged them by his gifts. It was he who drew the famous Caſaubon into France, and invited him by a flattering letter written with his own hand, to come and ſettle there with his family (11). He wanted alſo to fix there the young Grotius, whoſe growing fame began to make the Low Countries illuſtrious, on his account. It was he who boaſted in his writings, that he had kiſſed the hand of the victorious hero of France (12). He alſo received Bertius, the Fleming, one of the greateſt ſcholars of his time, and appointed him to read lectures on mathematics (13). *Juſte Lipſe* was aſtoniſhed to receive, in Holland, a letter of invitation from Henry 4th, who offered him an honourable appointment, and ſix hundred golden crowns penſion (14). Vignier, and ſome other Frenchmen, who by the badneſs of the times, had been driven from their country,

* Hiſtoire de François 1ſt, tome 6, page 305.

country, were re-eſtabliſhed in their employments, and brought back to their fire ſides (15). Theſe names, I am ſenſible, have long ſince been eclipſed by more celebrated ones: but we ought to remember, it was the former who overcame the barriers of ignorance, and laid open the courſe, which their ſucceſſors have ſince run with ſo much applauſe. It was thus that Henry judged of their labours. The Varrons of France ought to excel Virgil and Horace. The moſt ſeducing offers were made to Francis de Sales, the Fenelon of his age, to fix him in his kingdom; he even went ſo far as to offer him a cardinal's hat. *What pity*, ſays he, *that a man of ſuch merit ſhould be confined to the mountains* *. Sponde, and his family, for a long time, ſubſiſted on his bounty. He drew the celebrated Calignon from the court of Savoy; and he, that we ſhould not have deſired to employ even as a lawyer, was afterwards a miniſter of ſtate, and a legiſlator (16). Fenouillet, born a ſubject of the ſame Duke, and the firſt of French orators, who was heard to ſpeak from the pulpit with ſuch gentle and perſuaſive eloquence, was raiſed to a biſhoprick, without any other

* Voy. Marſolier. Vie de St. François de Sales.

other recommendation than his merit (17). Coffeteau, who began in his proſe writings to give to the French language numbers, purity and politeneſs, made his way from the cloiſter, and opened his road to the ſame honours, and received afterwards the ſame reward for his talents: (18) for the epiſcopal mitre was not at that time reſerved only for men of high birth. A cotemporary of Henry's ſaid of him, that he never was acquainted with a man famous for learning, or recommendable for love of letters, throughout his kingdom, that he did not reward with a genteel penſion. Perefixe adds, that he even gave penſions to many learned men both in Italy and Germany, and he himſelf took care they ſhould have them punctually paid: ſo that Lewis the 14th was not the firſt who ſo nobly rewarded the genius of foreigners. Henry 4th ſet him the example. He collected round him all the men diſtinguiſhed for literature which France afforded. He was continually ſurrounded by men of merit, whoſe military employments did not prevent their commerce with the muſes. In what other age have we ſeen ſo many illuſtrious ſoldiers, who at the ſame time

* Bertand, Diſcours, &c.

time cultivated letters? New opinions have brightened their underſtandings. Coligny diſcovered his republican ſpirit in his writings, which the humour of the times cauſed to be burnt, but which only ſerved to encreaſe his fame (19). La Noue wrote his Diſcours Politique (20); Mornay his Memoires (21); d'Aubigné his Hiſtory (22). Theſe are the men with whom he paſſed his youth, and who were his firſt and moſt uſeful inſtructors, excluſive of his misfortunes; ſince the proſperity of the king of France, did not corrupt the taſte of the king of Navarre. Armand de Biron (23), Turenne (24), Les Diguyeres (25), Sully (26), Briſſac (27), Givry (28), Les D'Angennes (29), Vivonne, (30), Salignac (31), his companions and friends, were the braveſt ſoldiers, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſcholars of their times. On the other ſide, the immortal De Thou, the model and envy of all hiſtorians; Du Perron, as famous for his great wit as his profound learning, and who from his paſſionate fondneſs for letters, was called the Mæcenas of his age, was raiſed to honours by Henry; Bertaud, Biſhop of Séez, whoſe ſtanzas replete with ſentiment and ſweetneſs, will never be forgot; (32); Reguier, whoſe

ſatires

ſatires fully anſwered his intentions, by producing to him both enemies and rewards (33); Deſportes, who ſacrificed the higheſt dignities to his love of independence, and his love of letters (34); the amiable and ſenſible Des Yveteaux, who was choſen by Henry to be his ſon's preceptor (35); alſo Malherbe, whom we ought to have mentioned firſt, and whom he frequently honoured with private converſations, ſuch as Lewis 14th has ſince held with Racine and Deſpreaux (36). Such were the perſonages by whom he was ſurrounded, and from this claſs of men did he generally chuſe his Ambaſſadors; D'Oſſat, whom he raiſed to the purple (37), Bongars (38), La Boderie (39), Du Bartas (40), Freſne Canaye (41), &c. He feared not truſting them with the affairs of the nation; he made uſe of their talents in public matters, and would not have been without them for his kingdom. A place amongſt our ſenators, ſo much the more valuable as it was not to be purchaſed, was the reward given to the virtuous De Belloy (42), for his patriotic and noble writings. He, with the modeſt and learned Pithou, who without any other qualities than knowledge and virtue, ſeemed to have the ſole

direction

direction in the republic of letters, was often employed by Henry in the moſt honourable offices of magiſtracy, and going from the top of the liſt, went modeſtly and retook his ſeat at the bar (43). The king, in conſideration of this celebrated man, granted very advantageous conditions to his beloved country, Troyes, as he afterwards did to the city of Poitiers, in favour of Sainte Marthe (44). It was De Thou, Jeannin, Calignon, that is to ſay, the moſt learned, as well as the moſt virtuous men of the age, who were alſo among the legiſlators, it was to them that he confided the digeſting that wiſe law of tolerance, the revocation of which had given wounds to France, which were ſtill bleeding, and which reaſon, juſtice, and humanity, with ſo much energy plead the re-eſtabliſhment of, that they will doubtleſs obtain it *from the ſucceſſor* of Henry 4th *, worthy by his own virtues to unite his name to that of his immortal *anceſtor*. Theſe employments, this confidence, theſe honours, were gifts ariſing from a more glorious ſpring, in the hands of a great king, than mere literary diſtinctions, or even penſions, which being at

* It was in 1685 that the edict of Nantes was revoked.

at the expence of the nation, may ſometimes humble the noble and haughty ſoul, who is conſtrained to receive it, if he has not already been ſo, in ſoliciting for it. The eſteem and regard of the public, is the true recompenſe of ſuch rare and ſublime talents, for genius is nouriſhed by applauſe. Among the learned, Henry ſelected for his own particular ſociety, thoſe who had the art of rendering ſcience agreeable, and whoſe genius and converſation were ſuited to each other, and was lively, ſenſible, and chearful. He converſed freely with theſe during the hours of repaſt and exerciſes, and took care to turn the diſcourſe on thoſe topics which would enlighten the ſubject, mixing the ſerious with the pleaſant. Hiſtorians are too negligent in theſe truly intereſting details (45). A manuſcript journal, whoſe author is unknown, expreſſes itſelf thus, under the date of May 1600: "The king no longer "converſes in public, on any ſubjects but "ſerious ones, and ſays, he has a true "and juſt right to the title of reſtorer "and father of letters in his kingdom, "and that he hopes, by God's aſſiſtance, "to make his ſubjects reap the fruit and "harveſt of this good ſeed; above all,

"extolling

" extolling thoſe who applied themſelves " to the ſciences *." One of the perſons who was firſt in Henry's good graces, and who contributed the moſt to improve his taſte for letters, was the famous DuPerron, of whom we have already made mention. Henry was not yet a Catholic, and Du Perron was no more than a plain Abbé, when the beautiful Gabrielle preſented him to the king, the beauties of his mind ſerved as a paſſport to his wonderful learning. D'Aubigny ſays, Du Perron converſed familiarly with the king, by his bedſide, ſometimes in French poetry, in which he yielded to none of his time, and ſometimes repeated, or read tales to him, which he made very entertaining. It frequently happened that he read to the king, when he was going to ſleep. One evening Henry deſired him to read a celebrated romance, which had lately been tranſlated into French. After two hours reading, Sire, ſaid the Biſhop D'Evreux, interrupting himſelf, I think they would be much ſurprized at Rome, if they knew I read Amadis to you.

Henry exhorting him to confute a work of Mornay's, which made a great noiſe,

† Journ. mſſ. conſervè dans un Grand Bibliotheque; Melanges, vol. 509, fol. 100.

noiſe, the prelate always eluded it, and every time the king mentioned it, told him he expected manuſcripts from Rome. Some time after, being with the King viewing his buildings, Henry preſſed the builder to finiſh the work, but he, under different pretexts, made excuſes, upon which Henry ſaid, "Oh, I ſee how it is, *you wait for manuſcripts from Rome*" (46). Struck with the growing merit of Bignon, who was very young, but whoſe early erudition, even aſtoniſhed the learned, he placed him about the Dauphin, with the hope it might inſpire him with emulation (47). To preſide at this inſtitution, he ſought for the modeſt and learned Le Fevre, even from the depth of his retreat. (48) Notwtthſtanding the negligence which Cayet affected in his dreſs, and his more than modeſty, his baſhfulneſs, Henry continued to admit him to his court, and even wiſhed him to remain there, therefore gave him a ſmall eſtate, which afforded a retreat ſufficient to ſatisfy the ambition of a ſcholar (49). Even his courtiers were not diſpenſed with, merely for having merit, but thoſe who had the greateſt wit, and made themſelves moſt agreeable, were the beſt treated, and the moſt in favour. When the

the king was attacked with the gout, he made Bellegarde, Grammont, and Baſſompiere, alternately watch by him, and during the night, ſays the latter, we read to him the book of Aſtrée (50). The ignorance of thoſe, whoſe ſituation required them to be otherwiſe, ſhocked him greatly; he rallied them with keenneſs, and no leſs ſpared thoſe who affected ill placed knowledge. He did not approve that the Cardinal de Bourbon, whoſe knowledge he thought but little of, ſhould aſſiſt at the aſſembly of the Biſhops, appointed to inſtruct: Couſin, ſaid he to him, if this buſineſs was to be determined between us two, although I am no great divine, and you are a Cardinal, I ſhould not be afraid to enter the liſts with you, and perhaps the victory would at leaſt remain doubtful. But let us leave it to theſe gentlemen, who know more of the matter than either you or me*. It was from the ſame motive he would not ſuffer the cardinal to take any books from the Valois library, which he pretended ought to be his. Henry told him "he was rich enough to buy books, if he had any deſire to read, but that the libraries of kings were jewels belonging

* Voy. De Thou, in fol. tom. V, page 293.

longing to the crown." Another prelate once ſpeaking on war, and as it may be imagined, very little to the purpoſe, Henry ſuddenly interrupted him, "to aſk him what ſaint's day that was in his breviary?" a ſtroke which pointed out his bad rhetoric, and loaded him with ridicule, for having talked of war before Hannibal. It was ſaid, that a taylor was all on a ſudden turned lawyer *, and being adviſed to preſent the king with a book filled with regulations and ſchemes, which he pretended were neceſſary for the good of the nation, Henry took it, and having read a few pages, which fully diſcloſed the folly of its author: "Friend, ſays he, to one of his valets, go and bring hither my chancellor, to take meaſure of me for a ſuit of cloaths, ſince here is my taylor wanting to make laws." But he diſguiſed his reproaches with a kind indulgence, and even corrected by a delicate method of praiſing, with regard to thoſe who had in other reſpects good ſenſe and uſeful talents. He would, laughing, ſay ſometimes, with my conſtable, who knows not how to write, and my chancellor, who does not underſtand Latin, there is nothing that I am not able to undertake. To poſſeſs

* Perefixe, page 483, & Journ. de Henry IV.

poſſeſs knowledge was a great recommendation with Henry 4th, and the way to make court to him, was to ſpeak to him with that freedom and liberty, which is moſt worthy employ, and the greateſt dependance of a man of letters. He received very kindly, ſays Perefixe *, the advice which was given him, he thanked and encouraged thoſe who had taken ſuch liberties with him, to continue it when ever they found occaſion. He had a certain number of perſons well affected to him, who informed him of every thing that paſſed. Such men as theſe Xenophon calls the eyes and ears of a king. D'Elbenne (52), and ſome others who had even joined in the league, had no other title to be admitted to his familiarity: he wanted them to tell him faithfully, all that was ſaid of him in the world †, for he was moſt anxious for the good opinion of the public. Is it not in effect the worſt thing a prince can do, to deſpiſe it? What can be hoped for from thoſe who regard with equal indifference the teſtimonies of eſteem or contempt; who liſten without diſtinction, to the complaints or acclamations of their ſubjects? Henry read with

* Perefixe, page 468.

† Bury, tom. IV, page 245.

with pleaſure every thing that was publiſhed concerning his operations, for under his reign every one enjoyed free liberty of ſpeaking, writing, and printing (53); and truth, which he ſought after every where, came in her turn, even to the throne to ſeek him (54): The greateſt compliment which can be made to kings, is to believe them worthy to attend to her voice. It is a long time ago that it has been ſaid, unhappy muſt that reign be, where the hiſtory of it is obliged to conceal its author. L'Etoile relates, that Henry having read the book called the *Anti-Soldier*, aſked his Secretary of State, Villeroy, if he had ſeen this work, and upon his replying in the negative: "*It is right you ſhould ſee it*," ſaid he, "*for it is a book which takes me finely to taſk, but is ſtill more ſevere on you.*" He was deſired to puniſh an author, who had written ſome free ſatires on the court: *It would be againſt my conſcience*, ſaid this good prince, *to trouble an honeſt man for having told the truth* (55). Henry 4th engaged the Preſident Jeannin to write his hiſtory, and far from imitating the weakneſs of Cicero, who privately deſired his friend to enlarge a little on the glory of his conſulſhip: I intend, ſays he, to leave truth to ſpeak for

ſor itſelf, and the liberty of doing ſo without diſguiſe or artifice. Are there many kings who can uſe ſuch language? And how many are there to whom we ſhould have been tempted to anſwer as Morvilliers ſaid to Charles IX. "Sire, I "am too much your ſervant, to write "your hiſtory." Henry took ſo much pleaſure in reading the letters, which Jeannin wrote to him during his embaſſy, that he deſired him to lengthen his diſpatches, and ſaid, that the longeſt of them were thoſe that pleaſed him beſt. He honoured theſe memoirs by a very flattering token; he called them a breviary for kings (56). It was under the reign of Henry IV. that the moſt faithful of all our hiſtorians has written, as it was under that of Trajan that Tacitus drew his Annals. "If I deviated from "the truth," ſaid our Tacitus to the Trajan of France, "I ſhould do much "injury to the extraordinary good for-"tune of your reign, which has per-"mitted every one the liberty of think-"ing what he pleaſes, and of ſaying "what he thinks." Henry alſo preſſed De Thou to publiſh his Hiſtory; he took this beautiful work under his own protection, and ſilenced the cabals

and clamours of the courtiers and prieſts formed againſt it. "*It is I*," ſaid this prince, in a letter he wrote on the ſubject to his ambaſſador at Rome, "*it is I that* "*have given orders for its publication and* "*ſale*." He regarded this work as a monument of Genius, raiſed on the altar of Truth. Henry acted with regard to this Hiſtory of De Thou's exactly as Lewis XIV. did afterwards with Moliere and the Tartuffe (57). This did not prevent Rome from joining in proſcribing this book of the French Tacitus, and putting it into the *Index*, where it was inſcribed the next after Eraſmus, and immediately before Galilee. At the time this Hiſtory was publiſhed, Henry IV. had cauſed the preface to be tranſlated, in order that the generality of readers might be induced to read this maſterpiece of ſenſe and eloquence. It was addreſſed to the king, and in that did the greateſt and moſt faithful of hiſtorians tell him, in the face of all Europe, "You have engaged all the world "to cultivate the fine arts, (which is "one of the happy effects of peace) by "the favours and rewards which you "have attached to them. This is fully "teſtified by the noble and laſting edi-

"fices

" fices which we have ſeen raiſe them-
" ſelves on all ſides, in ſo ſhort a time.
" Theſe ſtatues of admirable workman-
" ſhip, theſe excellent pictures, which
" will equally ſerve as monuments to
" ſhew poſterity the extent of your love
" for peace; but what is much more
" conſiderable, and what we ought to
" felicitate you upon, is the re-eſta-
" bliſhment of the Belles Lettres in
" thoſe places from whence war had
" baniſhed them." The author exhorts the monarch to purſue the execution of his glorious projects. " A great genius,
" ſuch as God has given to you," ſays he,
" cannot, nor ought not to be contented
" with doing any thing in a moderate
" way." And after many eulogiums, mixed with advice on his adminiſtration,
" My deſign," adds he, " has not been
" to make your panegyric; beſides, I
" know that your Majeſty takes more
" pleaſure in deſerving praiſe, than hear-
" ing it." Pierre Mathieu, whom he made choice of to write his own private hiſtory, though he had talents greatly inferior, yet had the ſame regard to truth. The king gave him the title of *Hiſtoriographer*, which is a ſynonimous term for a good hiſtorian. As he deſigned this

this work of Mathieu's to ſerve for the inſtruction of the dauphin, he had often familiar converſations with him, and condeſcended to acquaint him with many particular incidents of his life. One day the author read to him ſome pages of this hiſtory where he mentioned Henry's penchant for women. "*And what good* "*can it anſwer*," ſaid he at firſt, "*to re-* "*veal ſuch weakneſſes?*" The hiſtorian convinced him that this leſſon would be equally uſeful to his ſon, as the relating to him his great actions. The king conſidered a little, and, after a moment's pauſe, "*Yes*," ſaid he, "*it is neceſſary to* "*reveal the whole truth. If my faults are* "*concealed, no one will believe the reſt.* "*Well, well, write them down then, in* "*order that he may avoid them* (58)." This delightful frankneſs inſpired confidence; he did not try to conceal himſelf under an appearance of proud affected gravity, which frequently hides incapacity, deviates from truth, or repulſes the modeſt talent. An air free and open, a chearfulneſs which never abandoned him even in his greateſt dangers, were in him united with majeſty. L'Etoile relates, that ſoon after the king's converſion, Du Haillan (59) coming to St. Dennis to

ſalute

ſalute Henry IV. his Majeſty, with a ſmiling countenance, aſked him if he went on with his hiſtory of France; and on his anſwering in the affirmative; "*I* "*am very glad of it,*" ſaid the king; "*but* "*do not forget to give a full account of the* "*pilferings of my treaſurers, and the rob-* "*beries of my miniſters* *." The peace was not then concluded, nor was Sully yet at the head of the finances. No prince was ever more eaſy of acceſs, or poſſeſſed more engaging qualities. The lawyer Peleus boaſted, that when he went to converſe with Henry IV. on the ſketch which he had made of the hiſtory of his reign, he embraced him before all his nobility, and told him he had not a ſubject in his kingdom who could have done him a more agreeable ſervice; and that he ſhould acknowledge, as a Sovereign, ſuch an undertaking (60). Greateſt part of the works which came out, after he was ſeated quietly on the throne, were dedicated to him (61). There are ſtill many proofs remaining of the gratitude of the authors, and the affability of the monarch. He had always ſomething pleaſing to ſay to thoſe whoſe writings

* Journ. de Hen. IV. Tom. II. p. 171. année 1593.

he wiſhed to encourage; they ſpoke to the king, and he anſwered. During the treaty of Vervins, Paſquier, ſo celebrated for his writings as well as his pleadings, wrote a Hymn to Peace, which he preſented to the king before all his courtiers. Henry did not only receive the poem, but read a whole page of it aloud in the author's preſence, and very obligingly added, that he would either read the whole of it, or cauſe it to be read before him. This reception was a kind of public homage which Henry paid to letters, as well as to thoſe who cultivated them; and this not merely by way of acknowledgment. Doubtleſs kings ought to encourage and protect letters, which are the ornament of their ſtates, and the glory of their reign. When Pompey, the conqueror of Aſia, laid aſide his conſular dignity at the door of Poſſidonius, it was more to do honour to philoſophy, than to the philoſopher, that the Roman paid this public mark of deference.

Henry IV. was even under obligations to men of letters; for it was they who firſt deſtroyed the calumny of the Leaguers, and the firſt who made his virtues known. They recorded his victories, and his clemency; they opened the eyes of the nation

tion by that ingenious ſatire, of which the French annaliſt † has not been afraid to ſay, that it was not leſs uſeful to Henry IV. than the battle of Ivry (63). In ſhort, many of them defended his rights, or revenged his injuries, at the peril of their lives. To acquit himſelf of the obligation he had to letters, it was but juſt that Henry ſhould protect thoſe who cultivated them. And ſince then, by a fortunate chance, genius has fully paid him all he did for men of letters, by chuſing him for the hero of the only epic poem acknowledged by the French nation; a poem that will never ceaſe to be read, or cenſured; the plan or order of which is blamed, yet every body knows it by heart; whoſe critics even ſucceed no other way than by the beautiful verſes they quote from it, in order to enrich their ſatires: in ſhort, whoſe deſtiny has been ſo ſingular in the eyes of impartial judges, that it has never yet been decided, whether the poem has moſt contributed to propagate the virtues, if I may venture to ſay ſo, and make the memory of Henry IV. adored, or whether the loved name of Henry has moſt contributed to the intereſt and prodigious

† Le Preſident Henault ſous l'année 1593.

digious ſucceſs of the poem. Whatever others may have done in favour of letters, either from vanity or policy, Henry acted from taſte, and from having a lively ſentiment of every thing praiſe-worthy and glorious. In conſequence of this, he omitted nothing that might tend to enlighten the age. He was the firſt who thought of bringing the library of the kings, his predeceſſors, to the capital, till that time ſhut up in the palace of Fontainbleau. He enriched it with the valuable collection of Greek manuſcripts of Medicis ‡; and, to augment it, he ſent men of learning into Spain, and even to Morocco, to ſearch for the beſt books in the Arabic language written on the ſciences, and particularly phyſic; a valuable acquiſition, which Lewis XIV. purſued from the example of his grandfather. He cauſed the library to be made public, and by this means gave the men of learning an opportunity of profiting by this literary treaſure. He confided the care and diſpoſition of it to two of the moſt illuſtrious of them, the preſident De Thou, and Caſaubon (64): the laſt, as we have already mentioned, only came to France on the invitation of Henry,

‡ Manuſcrit in 4 cité Eſprit de Hen. IV. p. 102.

Henry, who gave him a penſion; but Sully, who was rather blunt, ſaid one day to him with ill humour, and certainly with too much ſeverity, "You "coſt the king too much money, Sir; "you have more than would pay two "good captains, and are of no uſe at "all." Caſaubon, who was very mild, made him no anſwer, but went and complained to the king. "*Monſieur Ca-*"*ſaubon*," ſaid this good prince to him, "*do not let this give you any trouble. M.* "*de Sully and I divide our affairs; he* "*has all the bad ones, and I have reſerved* "*to myſelf the good: when it is neceſſary to* "*go to him for your appointments, come firſt* "*to me, I will give you a watch-word, by* "*which you will eaſily get paid.*" What is there which a prince like Henry, with ſuch noble ſentiments, joined to ſuch delicate attentions, would not have done, had he been born in happier times? He has not been ſufficiently ſupported on this part of his eulogium. His combats and his warlike virtues only have been extolled, the others have been neglected. For example; would it not be new to moſt of my readers, to ſay, that it was to the conqueror of Ivry that Francis de Sales was indebted for the work which

acquired him ſuch reputation *? Tired with books on controverſy, Henry wanted one which had a gentle and conſoling moral, which might reconcile and reunite the minds of his ſubjects, ſoften the ſevere rigour of the Proteſtants, and the too ſharp zeal of the Catholics; capable of pleaſing both men of the world, and thoſe who were devoted to religion; the people in general, as well as the great. He was ſenſible of this true policy, that the more the minds of the people were enlightened, the more they were diſguſted with theological diſputes; and that if they once liſtened to reaſon, they would no longer cut each others throats for the ſake of argument. He communicated his idea to the biſhop of Geneva, a man of an amiable character, and perſuaſive eloquence, entreating him to unfold his meaning, and ſet about ſuch a book. The prelate did ſo, and wrote his Introduction to a Religious Life; this book had very great ſucceſs, becauſe it ſpoke to the heart, as well as to the underſtanding. The author would have declared in his preface, that it was the auguſt Mæcenas who had ſuggeſted to him the plan of his work; but Henry oppoſed

* Voyez ſa Vie, par Marſolier.

oppoſed it, and inſiſted he ſhould have all the merit of it. Among the projects which Henry IV. gave birth to for the progreſs of learning, and ſoftening of manners, objects which ought never to be ſeparated, there were none more uſeful than the eſtabliſhments he propoſed to form for public inſtruction; for education, well directed, forms a kind of empire which we inſenſibly exerciſe over the mind, but is not leſs efficacious than law or authority. He had from the firſt reſolved to reform the univerſity of Paris, and again make learning flouriſh there. This ancient ſchool had equally ſuffered with others, from the misfortunes of the times. The various claſſes were all deſerted. In order to awaken them from this lethargy, Henry had already formed a celebrated ſociety, by way of emulation, whoſe uſeful rivalry might tend to the profit of their ſeveral ſcholars; *but Carthage is deſtroyed, and I am looking for the advantages reſulting from it to Rome.* Be that as it may, the monarch purſued his plan, and proſcribed the remains of barbariſm which had exiſted in the ſchools. He directed their ſtudies on a better plan, and by this means delivered the eldeſt daughter of Royalty from the fetters

which had been impoſed on her by ſome of his predeceſſors, and formed a code of laws, on the baſis of which the univerſity is governed at this time *. Henry ſtill wanted to raiſe four or five colleges, where education might be taught without expence, and where the young citizens of all claſſes might equally receive inſtruction, and learn good manners. In one of theſe colleges was to be brought up, at the king's expence, three hundred gentlemen, ſons of poor officers, whom he adopted as the children of his country; and the ſuperb houſe of La Fleche, a palace belonging to his anceſtors, which was deſtined to this noble inſtitution, remains as a monument to prove his magnificence, his great views, and his love of letters (66). He could never believe that ignorance could lead to any good purpoſe, particularly when it was the companion of bravery, or privilege of birth. He every day ſought to diſſipate theſe gothic prejudices, ſo dear to our forefathers. He thought people might be learned, as well as courageous; of high birth, yet able to read; and that it might be permitted, without

* Statutes de l'Univerſite de Paris, de l'année 1600.

without any degradation of their characters, that they might underſtand Xenophon, or comment upon Cæſar. We have not mentioned the two ſocieties of theology which he founded in the Sorbonne; the Cardinal du Perron informs us, that he is not to have the merit of them, but ſays it was a penance which was impoſed on him by the Pope *. However, a ſtill more honourable deſign engaged him in favour of the ſciences, which was to erect a new temple to them, under the title of the *College Royal of France*. The conqueror of Marignan had really given this name to the learned ſociety deſtined for the reſtoration of letters; but the members of it were diſperſed; they went from college to college: Henry wanted to re-unite them, and to collect, as into a focus, every talent, which from thence might ſhed its influence with greater facility over the whole kingdom; he thought ſuch a monument as that would do honour to his reign, and ſignalize the time of peace (67)†. He went himſelf, with his literary miniſters, Du Perron and De Thou, to mark out the ground deſtined for this purpoſe. A vaſt edifice was to be raiſed, to contain halls for public lectures,

* Perroniana, p. 252. † Cétoit en 1609.

tures, and convenient apartments for the profeſſors. He wanted to build an academy which ſhould be in every reſpect completely adapted to all the ſciences; for at that time no other idea of an academy exiſted, but as a ſchool to teach languages. In the centre of this Lyceum was to have been placed the royal library, and a gallery to be ornamented with the portraits of all the learned men, poets, and philoſophers, of all times, and of all ages, round which were to be open porticos, placed ſo as to form an eaſy communication amongſt the different ſtudents, and alſo to recall to mind the idea of the porticos of Athens. The king had determined to endow this ſanctuary of the Muſes with a ſalary of thirty thouſand livres, which at this time would be nearly equal to a hundred thouſand *. He even laid the firſt ſtone of this building; but death, which came upon him unexpectedly, prevented the execution of this noble ſcheme, which the magnificence of his ſucceſſors have never been able to accompliſh in its original deſign or extent. We ſhall ſay nothing in this place of what Henry did for the glory and

* Memoires ſur le College Royal, premiere part. p. 67, &c.

and advancement of the arts; this will be the ſubject of another Book †. It is true, that this prince, who, in every ſenſe of the word, excelled all his cotemporaries, deſpiſed thoſe moderate writers who were unable to eſtabliſh a laſting name ‡, and alſo thoſe venal ones who diſgraced themſelves; that he ſometimes took the liberty of laughing at pedants; that he hated cold and prolix preachers (68); and that he did not love triflers. He was not prodigal of his eſteem, or his rewards. One day, ſeeing a bad poet paſs by in a coach and ſix, on his return from Savoy, where he had made a fortune, "*Never*," ſaid he, ſmiling, "*would* "*this man have got ſuch a fine equipage in* "*France, as that which draws him* §."
Fauchet never forgave the little regard he paid to his writings; not but that the monarch did juſtice to his learning, but was with reaſon diſguſted with the rudeneſs and ruſticity of his ſtyle, which he thought ought to be rendered as pleaſing as inſtructing; and that before he attempted to improve or correct Majeſty, it would be neceſſary to make himſelf underſtood,

† Cet article eſt encore manuſcrit.
‡ Journal de Hen. III. Tom. IV.
§ Philoſophie de la Mothe le Vayer, p. 236.

underſtood, and aſſure himſelf his work would be read. The Preſident Fauchet had totally neglected this precaution; his almoſt unintelligible language, joined to an affected negligence with regard to his perſon, had gained him the appellation of *Gaulois*. Henry IV. once made uſe of a ſharp, though a pleaſant reproof to him: Fauchet, in his anger, made ſome verſes againſt the monarch, in which modeſtly comparing himſelf to Salluſt or Tacitus, he endeavoured to draw down on Henry the reproach of ingratitude, and indifference for learning. Theſe verſes were preſented to the king, who ſent for the author, and, to revenge himſelf for this little ſatire, he gave him the title of his *Hiſtoriographer*, with ſix hundred crowns penſion (69). One day a poet preſented himſelf to the king, with a confidence which exceeded his poetical talents; but the king not knowing either his perſon or his writings, aſked him, "what was the nature of his "occupations?" "Sire, I make anagrams, "but I am very poor."—"*I believe ſo* "*indeed*," ſaid Henry, "*for you have* "*made choice of a bad trade* (70)." The makers of anagrams had better luck under his ſon's reign. A Member of the

Parliament

Parliament of Aix * having preſented to Lewis XIII. on his entry into that city five hundred anagrams, which with great labour he had compoſed on his name; this prince was ſo enchanted with this fine work, that he gave the author a conſiderable penſion, which was afterwards continued to his children. It is true, he did not give any thing to the great Corneille! The diſtance which Henry knew how to put between a man of real merit and an inſignificant writer, and the different reception he gave them, was equally flattering to true genius, as praiſes and rewards heaped on the undeſerving mortify them almoſt as much as ſatire (71). It was not that the monarch deſpiſed every thing which was chearful and agreeable; on the contrary, as he himſelf liked to be thought a man of lively repartee, a pleaſant joke or an agreeable badinage was ſure to meet with his approbation. It was for this reaſon that a poet one day, in order to free himſelf from taxes, preſented to him this Laconic petition:

" Ce poëte n'a pas la maille;
" Plaiſe Sire, a ta Majeſté,
" Au

* Nommé Billon Voyez Bouche, Hiſt. de Provence in fol. edit. 1736, Tom. II. p. 867.

" Au lieu de le mettre à la taille
" De le mettre à la charite."

The king's protection ſaved this burleſque poem, and guarded the author from both the ſtings he complained of. It is ſaid, that he gave a conſiderable penſion to a pupil of Malherbe, for having made a ſonnet on the eyes of the beautiful Gabrielle; but as the poet did not inherit the talents of his maſter in the art of writing, there is great reaſon to believe that the king, when he rewarded him, thought more of the ſubject of the verſes than the merit of them (72). Henry's death was the ſole cauſe of depriving a young man of his countenance and rewards, who had ſhewn uncommon talents. Theophilus was ſcarcely twenty years old when he came to court, where he was moſt graciouſly received. Being at the Louvre at the time Henry's equeſtrian ſtatue in miniature was brought to him, the poet immediately made this impromptu:

" Petit cheval, joli cheval,
" Doux au montoir, doux au deſcendre,
" Bien plus petit qui Bucephal,
" Tu portes plus grand qu' Alexandre."

Every thing which was ingenious and lively was ſure to pleaſe him, as it was his

his own natural diſpoſition. Nobody at that time wrote with more eaſe, vivacity, and grace, than he did himſelf: there might be a hundred charming quotations taken from his letters; we cannot refuſe ourſelves the pleaſure of repeating ſome of them. In writing to Mornay, who had received a moſt groſs affront from a raſh young man *, how properly does he expreſs himſelf!

" I am extremely diſpleaſed at the " outrage you have received; and I feel " it, both as a king, and as your friend. " With regard to the firſt, I will do " both you and myſelf juſtice. If I " was only the ſecond, there is no one's " ſword would be more readily drawn " for you than mine, nor whoſe life " would be more chearfully offered.— " Take this for certain, that I will effec- " tually render you ſervice, as your " king, your maſter, and your friend." The wife Mornay was ſometimes out of humour. " My friend," ſays the king to him in one of his letters, " you do " not write like a man who wiſhes to " return; you ought to be more eager " to ſee me, knowing how much I love " you; I cannot do without you: come,

" I intreat

* St. Phal.

" I intreat you, as free from anger, as " you are replete with virtue."

Givry, a young hero, and one of the braveſt as well as moſt amiable officers in the whole army, had juſt taken two towns; Henry wrote this billet to him: " Thy victories prevent me from ſleep- " ing, as heretofore thoſe of Miltiades " did Themiſtocles. Adieu, Givry; thy " pride muſt be now fully ſatisfied." Every body knows by heart his letter to Crillon: " Hang thyſelf, brave Crillon, " for we have conquered at Arques, and " you were not there. Adieu, brave " Crillon; I love you always." And another, in which he writes, " Brave " Crillon, it would be too much not to " have been at the ſiege of Amiens, and " to have failed at Mantes.—If you " fail in the ſecond, you loſe all your " friends." In another place, he ſaid, " I have at this time one of the fineſt " armies that can be imagined; it wants " nothing but the brave Crillon." Be- fore the battle of Fontaine-Francoiſe, he wrote thus to one of his officers: " To " horſe, Fervaques; the enemy ap- " proaches; I want your aſſiſtance. I " am, Henry." There are many other letters which have never been made known,

known, and on which we congratulate ourſelves for bringing to public view. Among theſe are billets which he wrote in camp, in great haſte, and, as he himſelf expreſſed it to Sully, "with his foot "conſtantly in the ſtirrup." Some are addreſſed to Manaud de Batz, one of his braveſt captains, and who, on a very dangerous occaſion, had preſerved his life. "Mon Faucheur," ſaid he, for that was a name he had given him, "put "wings to your beſt horſe; I have or-"dered Monteſpan almoſt to kill his: "and wherefore, do you ſay? You ſhall "know it from me at Nerac. Haſten, "come, run, fly! it is the order of thy "maſter, and the requeſt of thy friend." Another time he wrote to the ſame, "This diligence of you and your men "is wonderful; what a pity you have "not been able to make an eſſay on the "people withinſide of Florance*! the "beſt place would be too dearly pur-"chaſed by the blood of one of my "friends. This very night I will join "you, and there will then be the beſt of "my brave men." In another place he ſaid, "Whilſt you remember the miracle "of

* Or Fleurance, a little town in Gaſcony, that they wanted to ſurprize.

" of my preſervation, you cannot forget " your duty; and I can give you no " better model than the brave example " you yourſelf afford." One of the moſt eſtimable of his letters, from the ſentiments contained in it, is that which he wrote at the age of twenty-four, to the ſame officer: " Monſieur de Batz, al- " though you are a Roman Catholic, I " have not the leſs confidence in you: " thoſe who act right from conſcience, " are of my religion; and mine is that " of all thoſe who are good and valiant. " Your trueſt friend, Henry (73)." What a letter! it ſerves to make known the noble ſoul of Henry IV. This good prince had that ſpirit of tolerance in his heart, which in the generality of people is only the effect of experience and philoſophy, and which did not even begin to bud, till after the numerous writings of the laſt age, and ſtill more after thoſe of our own. What a comment on this letter was the edict of Nantes! The ſame mind dictated both one and the other. The monarch acted as the private man thought; and the king and the friend never were on oppoſite ſides. There is one letter which he wrote to Henry III. from the field of battle at Coutras,

Coutras, the ſame evening that he gained the victory over Joyeuſe, the favourite of that prince. This letter is ſo admirable in every reſpect, that we cannot help reproaching the French nation for having ſuffered it to lie hid, even to this time; for which reaſon we ſhall give the whole of it, notwithſtanding its length.

" *Sire, my Lord, and Brother,*

" I THANK God, I have beat your " enemies, and your army. You will " learn from La Burthe, whether, not- " withſtanding I took up arms in the " midſt of your kingdom, I am your " enemy, as you have been informed. " Open then your eyes, Sire, and know " who are ſuch. Is it me, your brother, " who can be an enemy to your perſon? " Me, a prince of your blood, of your " crown? Me, a Frenchman, of your " own nation? No, Sire; thoſe are your " enemies, who, by waſting our blood " and that of the nobility, aim at your " life, and, above all, at your kingdom. " This, had not God aſſiſted us, would " have been done for you in this place " at Coutras, and they had murdered " you, Sire, by killing us, as they have " already in your heart: for afterwards,

" had

" had you remained the laſt of ſo many
" kings and princes, how could you
" have ſlept among ſwords ſtained with
" your own blood, or even amongſt ſtill
" worſe weapons than ſwords? Conſider
" inſtantly of this buſineſs, if there is
" time for it, for it all lies hid in the
" will of Heaven, before whom I declare
" the juſtice of my arms, and of all that
" blood which one day you muſt render
" an account of. Bind up, Sire, this
" wound of your people; give peace to
" your country, to God, to your king-
" dom, to your brother, to your con-
" ſcience. Conqueror as I am, it is I
" who demand it of you. Or if war
" muſt be continued, leave it to me to
" carry it on with thoſe who have cauſed
" it between us; and allow me to lead
" them to that moment, when they ſhall
" learn who I am. La Burthe, one of
" the beſt men throughout all Chriſten-
" dom, and whom I ſend to you with a
" ſimple letter of credit, becauſe I am
" perfectly convinced of his fidelity, and
" becauſe no other means could be
" taken, will prove to you, that I have
" no other wiſh than to give peace to
" every one, and to preſerve my own.
" —And as for what your Pope has

" meddled

" meddled in, in order to take away from
" me that which I hold from God *,
" why, for this God has, and will al-
" ways oppoſe him in ſuch a wicked
" buſineſs.—To the which living God I
" moſt earneſtly pray, Sire, that he will
" enlighten that underſtanding which he
" has given you, and which, for the
" great ſins of the nation, he has per-
" mitted to be obſcured, as alſo thoſe of
" the greateſt part of your brave nobi-
" lity, who have been blinded to ſuch a
" degree by the Lorrains. Then ſhall
" we plainly ſee, Sire, that in all this
" poor kingdom there is not a ſingle
" Frenchman who is an enemy to his
" king. The grand ſource of this poi-
" ſon muſt be examined into thoroughly,
" and you, Sire, will find that here are
" your true ſervants, and the ſaviours of
" your crown (74)."

We do not believe there exiſts at this time any letter in our language which comes nearer the point, or is written with more eloquence and energy. This letter ought to be one of Montaigne's, in order to its being ſtill admired. The vivacity of Henry IV. his exquiſite ſenſi-

 bility,

* Bull of 1585, which declared Henry IV. incapable of ſucceeding to the throne.

bility, animated every thing which came from his pen, and diſcovered all the graces of his mind. In the midſt of perils and dangers, he never loſt that freedom of thinking, that gaiety of heart, which made his valour ſo much admired, and which gave ſo many charms to his actions, and ſuch poignancy to his diſcourſe. After the reduction of Sedan, he wrote to the Princeſs of Orange theſe words: "Couſin, I ſhall ſay as Cæſar "did, *Veni, vidi, vici*; or, as the ſong "ſays,

"Trois jours durerent mes amours,
"Et ſe finirent en trois jours;
"Tant j'étois amoureux de Sedan!" &c.

Giving an account to his ſiſter of the battle of Fontaine-Francoiſe, where he had expoſed his life ſo much, he adds, "Thoſe who were abſent from thence "ought to regret it much, for I had oc-"caſion for all my good friends; and I "ſaw you was very near being my "heireſs." The evening before the battle of Ivry, he wrote to the fair Gabrielle, "If I am conquered, you know "me well enough to believe I ſhall not "fly; but my laſt thought ſhall be of "Heaven, and the laſt but one ſhall be "of you." In times of greater tranquillity,

quillity, he wrote her this charming billet: "I write to you, my beſt love, "from the foot of your picture, which I "adore merely becauſe it was drawn for "you: not that it reſembles you; of "this I muſt be a competent judge, "having painted you in all perfection in "my ſoul, in my mind, in my eyes, and "in my heart." Permit us to quote another letter written to his miſtreſs: "My beauteous love, two hours after "the arrival of this courier, you will ſee "a cavalier who loves you much; they "call him King of France and Navarre, "which are certainly honourable, though "very painful titles; that of being your "ſubject is infinitely more delightful: "all three together are good; and let "what will happen, I have reſolved never "to yield them to any one."

What a tender melancholy breathes through the letter he wrote, expreſſing his concern for the loſs of this miſtreſs, ſo dear to him! "My dear ſiſter, I re-"ceived as much conſolation from your "viſit as I had great need of it, for my "affliction is as incomparable as was "the object who has cauſed it. Tears "and regret will accompany me to my "laſt moment. The root from which

" my affection ſprung is dead, never
" more to ſhoot out again; but that of
" my friendſhip will always increaſe for
" you, my dear ſiſter, whom I embrace a
" thouſand times."

His familiar correſpondence might furniſh us with a thouſand paſſages capable of adorning this book, which has no other merit or worth, than what it receives from Henry's name and words; but to repeat every thing which brings to remembrance his lively imagination, his frank and loyal mind, or to paint his delicacy, and the effuſions of his friendſhip, would too much multiply the number of quotations. We muſt not, however, conclude this ſubject without mentioning Sully, and thoſe letters from friend to friend, which remain as a ſingular monument in the hiſtory of kings, and to ſelect ſome few at leaſt of thoſe traits, in which are ſo delightfully blended their intimate union of mind and ſentiment.

" My friend, I have juſt learned that
" your ſon is wounded: as I know from
" the feelings of a father, what grief
" muſt be felt on ſuch an occaſion, and
" as I participate with you as a good
" maſter, I diſpatch this courier pur-
" poſely

" poſely to deſire you will ſend me word
" by him how he does; not loving you ſo
" little, but that if my preſence is neceſ-
" ſary, I would come myſelf, to prove
" to you this teſtimony of my affection."
Sully having expoſed himſelf too much at the ſiege of Montmelian, Henry altered his ſtyle, and wrote to him rather angrily. " My friend, greatly as I ap-
" plaud your zeal in my ſervice, I
" equally condemn your inconſiderate
" manner of throwing yourſelf into un-
" neceſſary dangers; therefore adviſe you
" for the future to conduct yourſelf
" better: for if you are uſeful to me in
" commanding my Artillery *, I have
" ſtill greater need of you to manage my
" Finances, which if by your vanity you
" make yourſelf inſufficient to, you will
" give me cauſe to leave you only the
" charge of the former. Adieu, my be-
" loved friend; continue to ſerve me
" well, but do not act like a madman,
" or a common ſoldier." In ſhort, whether he blamed, or whether he conſoled him, the ſame ſentiments always animated him: " My friend, you are too haſty;
" moderate your anger, and think leſs

* Sully was Commander of the Artillery of France.

" of what you have been told, by which " means you will enrage thoſe who envy " you the good-will I bear you. I have " not taken a pen in my hand till now " ſince I had the gout; the reſentment I " feel againſt theſe tattlers have got the " better of my pain.—It is neceſſary you " ſhould come here, for never was ſervant " more beloved by his maſter, than you " are by Henry." How much reaſon had the author of the Henriade to cry out,

" Henri de l'amitié ſentit les nobles flammes:
" Amitié don du ciel, plaiſir des grandes
" ames!
" Amitié que les rois, ces illuſtres ingrats,
" Sont aſſez malheureux pour ne connoitre
" pas."

Henry made a noble diſtinction from the uſual hiſtory of kings. The honeſteſt man in the kingdom was his beſt friend: but the ſeverity of Sully gained him many enemies, for a good miniſter will always be oppoſed by bad men; they were continually forming plots againſt him: Sully ſometimes complained of it to the king: " *My friend,*" ſaid the prince in anſwer, " *this is a matter which I will not ſay* " *often happens, but always the caſe, that thoſe* " *who conduct great affairs muſt be ſubject* " *to envy. You yourſelf know that I am*

" *not*

" *not exempt from it, neither from the Pro-*
" *teſtant or Catholic religion. You have*
" *only to do as I do, who apply to you for*
" *advice when any thing troubles me, let it*
" *be ever ſo trifling; and do you always*
" *conſult my opinion on whatever happens to*
" *you, regarding me as the moſt faithful*
" *friend you have, and the kindeſt maſter*
" *that can be.*" Henry on his part had many domeſtic vexations. He once wrote to Sully, " My friend, come and " ſee me, for ſomething has happened " this morning in my family, therefore " I have occaſion for your preſence."— Another time he wrote, " My friend, I " would give a great deal for your com- " pany, for you are the only one to " whom I can open my heart.—It is " not affected by love, or by jealouſy; " it is a ſtate affair.—Haſten; come " quickly.—My wife, my children, my " houſehold, are all well; they love " you as much as I do, or I would diſ- " inherit them." His benevolent heart diſcovered itſelf in every word and action: the pleaſure of retracing ſuch eſtimable qualities, has doubtleſs carried us a great length; but who will venture to efface them? There remains a great number of his letters, and many of the

nobility have preſerved them in their cabinets, and only ſhew them as their beſt title to nobility. Whilſt he was only king of Navarre, he ſeldom employed a ſecretary. Did he want ſoldiers? he wrote to them, and he had an army. It was ſtill more neceſſary for him to pour out his heart in the boſom of friendſhip. From his letters diſperſed among his friends we may collect, if I may thus call it, the rays of his mind, and ſee at one view the undiſguiſed Man, the King, the Lover, the Father, and the Friend. In them, wit is only made uſe of to add to the delicacy and worth of the ſentiment.—In all of them, we find that livelineſs, that ſtriking trait of vivacity, which we may ſay ſtamped the writings of Henry IV. Even his common expreſſions have paſſed from mouth to mouth: every body knows them by heart, and are never tired of repeating them. His converſation was brief, but full of energy; his repartees quick and lively. He had a natural eloquence; his ſpeeches ſeemed the effect of inſpiration, yet were never ſtudied. That which he made to the principal men of Rouen*, is, perhaps, the fineſt that

* In 1596.

that ever came out of the mouth of a king. Thoſe who do not recollect it, will give us leave to repeat it; and thoſe who know it, will recall it with pleaſure to their minds.

" *If I had any deſire,*" ſaid he, " *to paſs* " *for an excellent orator*, I ſhould have* " *brought hither a finer ſet of words than of* " *good will. But my ambition leads me to* " *ſomething more brilliant, than that of* " *ſpeaking well: I aſpire to the glorious* " *titles of* Deliverer *and* Reſtorer *of France.* " *I have already, by the favour of Heaven,* " *the councils of my faithful ſervants, and* " *the ſwords of my brave and generous no-* " *bility, (between whom and my princes I* " *make no diſtinction, the quality of* Gentle- " man *being the beſt title we poſſeſs) drawn* " *it from ſlavery and ruin. My preſent* " *deſire is to reſtore it to its former ſtrength,* " *and to its ancient ſplendor. Unite with* " *me, my ſubjects, to effect this ſecond pur-* " *poſe, as you have done already by the firſt.* " *I do not call you hither, as my predeceſſors* " *have done†, to oblige you blindly to ap-* " *prove my intentions. I have called you* " *together in order to receive your counſels, to* " *attend to them, to follow them; in a word,*

* An indirect criticiſm on Henry III.

† Charles IX. at Rouen, in 1563, &c.

" *to put myſelf under your tutelage. It is*
" *not a uſual part for kings, for grey-beards,*
" *or for the victorious like me, to take advice;*
" *but the love I bear my ſubjects, and the*
" *extreme deſire I have to preſerve my king-*
" *dom, makes it perfectly eaſy and honour-*
" *able to me* (75)*."

Theſe military ſpeeches are written in a character, and, if I may call it ſo, bear features which diſtinguiſh Henry IV. from all other heroes, both ancient and modern. It is with regret that I limit myſelf with only repeating what he ſaid to the army, before the battle of Ivry. " *You are Frenchmen—I am your king—*
" *there is the enemy.*" Then taking off his helmet, which was ornamented with a plume of white feathers, " *My children,*" ſaid he, " *keep your ranks properly. If the*
" *ſtandard ſhould be loſt, here is the ſignal*
" *for rallying; follow my panache, you ſhall*
" *always perceive it in the road to honour*
" *and victory.*" What muſt be thoſe ſoldiers, who would not be led on by ſuch expreſſions?

There is in all his converſations ſo much regularity and propriety, as well as vivacity, that makes him eaſily known: in

* Perefixe, p. 109.

in ſhort, neither in his court, or even in his time, was there a mind endowed with more lively, penetrating, eaſy, flowing wit, than his. It is only from particular perſons, I do not mean crowned heads, but from men remarkable for the pleaſures they afford ſociety, that we may collect a great number of theſe happy traits, which do ſo much honour to his wit, as well as his diſpoſition. If we undertook to repeat them all, we ſhould have enough to fill another volume. What could be finer than the eulogium he made on Armand de Biron to his ambaſſadors? "*Gentlemen, this is* "*the Maréchal de Biron, whom I preſent* "*equally to my friends and enemies.*" Or can any thing be more flattering than what he ſaid to Aumont, when he ordered him to be ſeated by him at table, the evening after the battle of Ivry? "*It is very fit you come to the feaſt,* "*after having ſerved me ſo well on my* "*wedding-day.*" What could do greater honour to all his brave ſoldiers, than the reply he made to the Spaniſh ambaſſador? Being ſurrounded and preſſed upon by his officers at court, the proud Spaniard was ſhocked with ſo much familiarity. "*You ſee nothing here,*" ſaid the

king; "*they preſs upon me much more in* "*the day of battle.*" No one, like him, poſſeſſed the art of ſaying agreeable things; and by making this uſe of his judgment, he gained many partizans, who were almoſt equally delighted with his words and manner, as with his other great qualities. The deſire of pleaſing inſpired him with a thouſand delicate and flattering attentions to the fair ſex, whom he idolized. That mixture of ancient French gallantry, and knight-errantry, which at this time exiſt only in our old romances, and in the memories of our anceſtors; that kind of enthuſiaſm, which, if I may venture to ſay ſo, concealed the foibles of love under the eclat of heroiſm; that irreſiſtible impulſe which drew him towards women, joined to that ſhining valour which at all times has power to intereſt the fair, and, above all, the homage he received from his noble and valiant ſubjects, have occaſioned him to be called the model of chivalry *, and one of the laſt heroes of that profeſſion. It was in this ſtyle that he wrote to the princeſs of Tuſcany †, whom

* See Memoirs on ancient Chivalry, M. de St. Palaye, Vol. I. p. 163.

† Mary of Medicis.

whom he had not yet ſeen, "My heart "has made a vow to love you through-"out my life, as the lady of my wiſhes, "and the miſtreſs of my affections." To pleaſe Mademoiſelle de Guiſe, he appeared before her with the colours he had gained at the battles of Coutras and Ivry: and the queen, Elizabeth, congratulating him on his victories, ſaid to him, "Above all, I admire your valour "in arms, and your courteſy to the "ladies." It is well known, that this queen always gave him the appellation of her *brave*, and that ſhe made choice of him for her chevalier (76). This noble character, ſo honeſt and ſo frank, and ſo much like the heroes of the earlieſt ages, frequently triumphed over the artful Italians. Catherine de Medicis, thinking to pique his ſelf-love, ſaid to him one day, "That all the Proteſtants "were republicans, and that he could "not do at Rochelle as he wiſhed."— "*Pardon me, Madam*," replied the king, "*for I only wiſh to do as I ought.*" The Duke de Nevers, an Italian, who accompanied his countrywoman, ſaid to him, "You could not even lay a ſingle tax "on the place."—"*You are right*," replied Henry, "*for there were no Italians*

"*amongſt*

" *amongſt us.*" It is well known, that almoſt all the farmers-general were of that nation. Among ſo many inſtances, I prefer ſelecting thoſe, which at the ſame time diſcover the great prince, as well as the man of ſenſe. That which Henry has ſaid, as well as written, deſerves to become a code of laws for kings. After the victory gained at Coutras, and the death of Joyeuſe, they preſented him with the jewels, and other magnificent baubles, belonging to this voluptuous favourite. Henry would not even look at them. " *It only belongs to actors,*" ſays he, " *to value themſelves on the rich habits* " *they wear; the true ornaments of a Ge-* " *neral are preſence of mind and courage* " *during a battle, and clemency after gaining* " *it.*" Re-united to Henry III. the king of Navarre uſed every method to reſtore the fallen ſpirits of the unfortunate Valois. That which had moſt frightened him, was the excommunication which had juſt been thrown out againſt him. " *Sire,*" ſaid the Bourbon to him, " *ſuc-* " *ceſs is the only remedy againſt the thunders* " *of Rome. Be victorious, and you will be* " *abſolved; but if you are conquered, you* " *will remain excommunicated, and will find* " *yourſelf threatened, and re-threatened*

" *more*

" *more than ever* *." On Henry the Fourth's acceſſion to the crown, the brave Nereſtang preſented himſelf to him at the head of a regiment of picked men, whom he conducted to this prince, proteſting to him, that he deſired no other reward than the honour of ſerving him.—" *Thus it is,*" ſaid Henry, " *that* " *good ſubjects ſhould act; they ought to for-* " *get their ſervices, but it is the duty of* " *their prince to remember them: and if he* " *means they ſhould continue to be faithful,* " *it is neceſſary that he ſhould be juſt and* " *grateful.*" In a ſhort time the whole face of Paris was changed; the Spaniſh ambaſſadors who came to confirm the peace of Vervins, were aſtoniſhed to find this capital ſo different from what it was ſome years before. They could not help expreſſing their ſurprize to the king: " *Do not wonder at it,*" ſaid he to them; " *when the maſter ceaſes to live in his own* " *houſe, every thing is in diſorder; but when* " *he returns to it, his preſence is the chief* " *ornament, and every thing proſpers ac-* " *cordingly.*" As a proof of this proſperity, the Duke of Savoy one day aſked him, " What the revenues of France " were

* Tablettes des Rois des France, Tom. III. p. 84. & Journ. de Hen. III.

" were worth?"—"*They are worth as much* " *as I pleaſe,*" ſaid Henry. The duke, thinking this a vague anſwer, repeated his queſtion.—" *Yes, whatever I pleaſe,*" continued the king; " *for having gained* " *the hearts of my people, I can have all* " *that I wiſh of them.*" Though he had long been perſecuted himſelf, nothing could ever bring him to perſecute others. He even honoured thoſe victims, who ſuffered by the family of Medicis, with the mild title of *ſtate martyrs*; as if he wiſhed to conſecrate, by a kind of reverence, the memory of thoſe who died for their country. Obliged from his youth to live in the midſt of his enemies, no prince ever ſtudied more the knowledge of mankind. He was in that ſituation which made it neceſſary to obſerve them, for he was in a ſtate of adverſity. Accuſtomed to converſe with them, he had acquired ſo quick a perception, that he pretended, " *he could gueſs by their eyes* " *what paſſed in their hearts*;" in conſequence of which, he generally knew how to make a good choice, for he even gained the affections of ſome of thoſe of the oppoſite party, whom he employed. " *A wiſe king*," ſaid he, " *is like a good* " *chymiſt, who from the moſt dangerous poi-*

" *ſons*

" *ſons can extract excellent medicines.*" He made honeſty and integrity the invariable rule of his conduct. It is well known what artful manœuvres the duke of Savoy made uſe of to retain the marquiſate of Saluces. When he came to France, Henry was adviſed to have him made priſoner: " *God forbid,*" replied the monarch; " *the word of a king of France is* " *inviolable. I have learned from my ear-* " *lieſt infancy, from thoſe who firſt nou-* " *riſhed me, that to keep my faith is much* " *more beneficial than any thing which per-* " *fidy can promiſe. To prove this, I have* " *the example of king Francis I. who by* " *deceit thought to* retain that dainty mor- " ſel *named Charles V. but he could not* " *ſucceed. If the duke of Savoy has violated* " *his word, my following his example would* " *not make me leſs guilty: and a king makes* " *a good uſe of his enemies treachery, when* " *he makes it ſerve as a contraſt to his own* " *ſteadineſs.*" And upon this he recollected an inſtance of Philip de Valois, who having pledged himſelf not to make war with the Emperor, put the troops under his ſon's command, and ſerved himſelf under his orders, pretending by this means that he had not broke through his engagements: " *This,*" ſaid Henry,

" *was*

" *was very bad policy, and caſts a ſhade on*
" *the memory of Philip. He was a great*
" *prince, but was guilty of little arts more*
" *ſuited to a parent who wants to deceive*
" *his children, than a ſovereign whoſe every*
" *word and action ſhould be founded on*
" *truth.*" The oppoſite conduct of king John appeared to him worthy every one's praiſe; he envied him this beautiful expreſſion: " If truth and integrity " were baniſhed from the earth, they yet " ought to be brought back again to " the hearts and mouths of kings †." Henry therefore ordered the duke of Savoy to be told, though he was in his power, he was no more in danger than in the midſt of his own territories; and that he was equally free in his court, as he was at Turin. " *I had rather forfeit my* " *life,*" added he, " *than break my pro-* " *miſe* ‡.'

This quotation is rather long; but God grant, that thoſe who write the hiſtory of kings may have frequent occaſion to make ſuch! As the idea of injuring any one never came into his mind, he

† D'Aubigne, ſon Hiſtoire Perefixe, p. 468. & Tablettes des Rois de France, Tom III. p. 22, &c.

‡ Journal Manuſcript, already mentioned, Vol. DIX.

he was never ſuſpicious. He liked to ſteal away from his court, to wander about in the fields, and to aſk queſtions of the honeſt good people, who were aſtoniſhed to ſee the king under their thatched roofs. When his friends, who were alarmed for him, remonſtrated to him, that, in the midſt of conſpirators, and whilſt the leaven of the League ſtill continued to ferment, he ought to take more care of his perſon, and not go out ſo frequently alone, or at leaſt ſo ill attended; "*Fear*," ſaid he, "*ought never* "*to have entrance in a royal mind. Thoſe* "*who fear death, will never attempt my* "*life; and thoſe who deſpiſe life, will al-* "*ways be maſters of mine, notwithſtanding* "*a thouſand guards were to try to prevent* "*them. It is only tyrants who ought to* "*live in conſtant fear* *." The magnificence of a throne had few charms for him. It was remarked, that he had ſome difficulty to act with the pomp of a king of France. Bred up like a Spartan, he preſerved throughout his life a contempt of every thing ſuperfluous, together with the frugality and vigilance of his early years, which he continued as well from habit as from policy. He ſet the

* Perefixe, p. 479.

the example of dreſſing plainly, and uſed to laugh at thoſe frivolous noblemen, who, inſtead of living in their own provinces, and increaſing their property, came to court to diſplay their ruinous extravagance; he laughingly ſaid, "*they* "*carried their mills and their foreſts on* "*their backs.*" He would have no courtiers that were not brave, nor any other favourites than his people in general. When he wrote to the governors of different provinces, he generally concluded with theſe words: "*Take care of* "*my people; they are my children, whom* "*God has committed to my care: I am re-* "*ſponſible for them.*" During a very ſevere illneſs, in which his life was thought to be in danger *, ſeeing, as we may ſay, all the noble ſchemes which he had formed going to be taken out of his hands, he could not help expreſſing his regret to Sully at the thoughts of being to quit his people, and letting fall a few tears. "*My friend,*" ſaid he, "*it is not death which I am in fear* "*of, as you can tell better than any one elſe,* "*having ſeen me in the midſt of dangers,* "*from which I have with difficulty eſcaped:* "*but I cannot deny but that I ſhall have* "*much*

* In 1598. Voy les vrais Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. p. 430.

" *much concern in giving up my life, before*
" *I have raiſed my kingdom to that degree of*
" *ſplendor which I had promiſed myſelf, and*
" *alſo to have proved to my ſubjects, by ſup-*
" *porting them, and diſcharging many of*
" *their taxes, as well as by governing them*
" *by the mildeſt treatment, that I regarded*
" *them as my dear children.*" This amiable prince wiſhed to hold his empire from affection, not force. Firm, when the public good required it, he never was intoxicated with that abſolute power which charms ſo many weak princes, and thoſe who only are poſſeſſed of moderate genius. Some court-flatterers, on a particular occaſion, once intreated him to make uſe of his authority. He made them this anſwer, worthy to be engraved on all kings palaces: " *The firſt duty of a ſove-*
" *reign is to conſider of every thing, and*
" *to remember he has himſelf two ſovereigns,*
" *God, and the Law.*" A report was circulated abroad, that it was his intention to build fortreſſes to confine people in: Henry condeſcended to aſſure them, " *That he ſhould never build citadels but in*
" *the hearts of his ſubjects.*" The ambaſſador from Conſtantinople, who came to France in the time of peace, expreſſed much ſurpriſe that ſo great a king, whoſe

valour

valour had been reported all throughout the Eaſtern world (77) *, ſhould not have a more numerous army: "*Do not be aſto-* "*niſhed at that,*" ſaid Henry; "*where* "*juſtice reigns, force is not neceſſary* †." Thus did he endeavour to rule over his ſubjects without any reſpect to perſons. A nobleman once having demanded the abolition of ſome abuſe committed againſt the magiſtrates of his juriſdiction, "*I have only two eyes, and two legs,*" replied the king; "*in what therefore ſhould* "*I be different from the reſt of my ſubjects, if* "*I had not the power of diſtributing juſtice?*" In a ſimilar circumſtance, Lewis XII. appeared in the court of juſtice with one arm bound in a ſcarf, as if Juſtice herſelf ſhould be reſtrained; a noble allegory, and which proves that good kings think alike. When the public ſafety and good order required examples to be made, and which he could not pardon, he at leaſt endeavoured as much as poſſible to ſoften the rigour of his refuſal. A courtier, whoſe nephew had been guilty of murder, having intreated pardon for the criminal, "*I am very ſorry,*" ſaid this prince, "*not*

* Favyn Perefixe, p. 306.

† Lettres de Bourſalt, Ecol. citées Militaire, Tom. II. p. 102.

" *not to have it in my power to grant you* " *what you aſk. It is very proper, as an* " *uncle, that you ſhould demand it, and* " *equally ſo as a king, that I ſhould refuſe it.* " *I readily excuſe your demand; do you ex-* " *cuſe my refuſal.*" He felt the truth of what has been ſince ſaid by a good miniſter, " that juſtice is the benevolence " of kings." But it was not thus that he acted with regard to his perſonal injuries: they could never gain his conſent to puniſh thoſe who had uſed him ill; and the king of France never revenged the injuries of the king of Navarre. He heard with temper all the ſhocking things which had been ſaid againſt him, except thoſe which were written by Orleans, the wretched author of incendiary libels *. But when he heard the calumnies he had invented againſt the queen his mother, he ſhook his head, and only ſaid theſe words: " *Oh the wicked, wicked wretch!*— " *But he came to France under my paſſport,* " *and therefore no harm ſhall come to* " *him* †." Soon after this, he ordered him to be ſet at liberty. Many years after

* Le Banquet du Comte d'Arctes, le Catholique Anglois, &c.

† Journ. de Hen. IV. nouv. edit. Tom. III. p. 76.

after the peace, he was told there were ſome fanatics, the remaining dregs of the League, who continued to declaim againſt him, and that they even refuſed to pray for him in their public prayers, "*They muſt be attended to*," ſaid he, "*for* "*they are ſtill angry*." Born without gall, hatred and vengeance were a load which his heart could not ſuſtain. A maxim he frequently had in his mouth was this, "*That the ſatisfaction derived from revenge* "*was only momentary, but that which is* "*to be gained from clemency laſts for ever*."

"Des qu'il put ſe venger, il en perdit "l'envie."

Or rather, he never had this deſire. They mentioned to him a nobleman, one of the principal Leaguers, whoſe virtues had not been able to diſarm him of his hatred towards him: "*I wiſh*," ſaid Henry, "*to do him ſo many ſervices, as to* "*force him to love me*." He was ſometimes reproached for his too great readineſs to pardon. Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, who, like women born to love, was gentle and compaſſionate, obtained forgiveneſs for more than one criminal. Sully did not always approve of this lenity. "*What can I do?*" ſaid the king,

"*I cannot*

" *I cannot reſiſt thoſe who humble them-*
" *ſelves, and my heart is too tender to refuſe*
" *a kindneſs to the prayers and tears of the*
" *woman I love* *." Tenderneſs in him was not owing to weakneſs; affable and courteous to all, he could be proud and ſevere with haughty minds, like that of Don Pedro the Spaniſh ambaſſador. This arrogant man carried it ſo far one day, as almoſt to mutter ſome threats. Henry told him, if the king his maſter continued his outrages, he would carry fire to the Eſcurial: " *They ſhall ſoon ſee me at* " *Madrid*," ſays he.—" Why not?" replied the ambaſſador, coldly; " Francis I. " was there."—" *It is for that very rea-* " *ſon*," ſaid the king, " *that I would go,* " *to revenge his injuries, thoſe of France,* " *and alſo my own!*" One day in converſation, he aſked the Emperor Rodolphus's envoy, " *Whether that prince kept* " *any miſtreſſes?*" The envoy, inſtead of anſwering in a jocoſe manner, choſe to appear the ambaſſador, and ſaid in a formal ſtiff way to the king, " That if " the Emperor had miſtreſſes, at leaſt it " was kept ſecret."—" *It is very true*"

E ſaid

* Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. p. 388.

ſaid Henry, "*there are but few men who* "*have great qualities ſufficient to excuſe* "*them from concealing their foibles* *."

Henry did not think it neceſſary the dignity of the crown ſhould extinguiſh in him the ſentiments of nature; he was guided by her, and was never better pleaſed than when he could yield himſelf up to her ſoft impreſſions. At the tables of his friends, whom he loved to ſurprize (78), he uſed to give himſelf up to all the natural gaiety of his temper; he diſrobed himſelf of majeſty, and condeſcended to become the agreeable companion. A charming familiarity, a frankneſs, and pleaſant way of joking, together with his *bon mots*, ſaid Perefixe, made up the beſt part of their repaſts. In the midſt of his family; he was no more King, but Father and Friend. He would have his children call him *Papa*, or *Father*, and not *Sir*, which was the new faſhion introduced by Catherine de Medicis †. He uſed frequently to join in their amuſements; and one day that this Reſtorer of France, and Peace-maker

* Mathieu & Eſſais ſur Paris, Tom. I. p. 266.

† Dupleix, Tom. IV. p. 412. Anecd. des Reines, Tom. V. p. 346.

maker of all Europe, was going on all-fours with the dauphin his ſon on his back, an ambaſſador ſuddenly entered the apartment, and ſurprized him in this attitude. The monarch, without moving from it, ſaid to him, "*Monſieur l'Ambaſ-*"*ſadeur, have you any children?*"—"Yes, "Sire," replied he.—"*Very well then, I* "*ſhall finiſh my race round the chamber**." It is reported that Ageſilaus was once caught in a ſimilar manner, by ſome ſtrangers entering his apartment at a time he was riding on a broom-ſtick with his ſon: "My Lords," ſaid he, "I pray you to "ſay nothing of this, till you have chil-"dren of your own." The empire of Nature is ſo ſweet, that there is no heart capable of ſenſibility but muſt, with regard to theſe two kings, infinitely prefer the Father to the Hero. Henry was conqueror in ſpite of his opinion. Forced to fight for thirty years, he never loved the ſcience of war. How frequently has he ſprinkled his laurels with his tears! He was much more gay the evening before a battle, than the day after a victory. He ſaid to thoſe who remarked it with

* Alm. litter. de 1782, p. 122.

aſtoniſhment, "*How can I rejoice at an* "*advantage which can only be obtained by* "*the loſs of my ſubjects, and the blood of* "*my countrymen! What gain can recom-* "*penſe me for ſuch loſſes* †!" A conſtant maxim of his was, that valiant men were always the laſt to counſel war, but the firſt to engage in it. He replied to thoſe who preſſed him to break the negociation of Vervins, "*That it being a* "*barbarous thing, againſt law, and againſt* "*nature, to make war for the ſake of war,* "*a prince ought never to refuſe to make* "*peace, unleſs it was on very diſadvanta-* "*geous terms.*" It was well known another prince of the name of Henry, and who, like him, was the greateſt General of his age, ſaid, "That if kings "were to viſit their hoſpitals the day "after a battle, they would never en-"gage in war (79)." Such ſentiments as theſe are worth more than a victory, which, after all, is only a brilliant calamity. What can be more praiſe-worthy than the noble reſentment of Henry IV. when he heard that his troops had pillaged ſome of the peaſants houſes in the country?

† Perefixe, p. 459.

country? "*Gentlemen,*" ſaid he to the officers who were with him, "*depart with* "*all ſpeed, and put order to this buſineſs;* "*you muſt anſwer for it. What! if they* "*ruin my people, who will ſupport me, or* "*who will ſupply the charges of my king-* "*dom? Who will pay your penſions? For* "*Heaven's ſake, Gentlemen, take care of my* "*people; for, by ſo doing, you take care of* "*me.*"

That which makes the hiſtory of Henry IV. ſo pleaſing, which gives him ſo ſtriking an appearance, is that mixture of goodneſs and greatneſs, of bravery and clemency, heroiſm and popularity, ſpirit and compaſſion, thoſe ſublime virtues, and amiable weakneſſes, which diſcover the Man of Senſibility and Goodneſs, ſtill more than the great King. An uncommon aſſemblage of eſtimable qualities! Nature had been laviſh to him, in endowing him with two gifts, which ſhe very ſeldom unites in the ſame perſon; the moſt extenſive genius, joined to the moſt tender ſenſibility. It is for this reaſon that his hiſtory, above all other kings, is moſt admired; and of which we know more particulars, more traits, more anecdotes; which we are more pleaſed to hear related, and which

never can tire the relater. Had he been nothing more than a hero, he would have been admired, but not beloved. It was his inexhauſtible goodneſs, his paternal attentions, theſe beautiful traits, much more than his victories, which have made his remembrance ſo dear to every body, and which ſtill occaſions his name to be ſounded, even in the moſt obſcure cottages, where they invoke him as a benevolent deity, the ſingle idea of whom has power to alleviate their wretchedneſs. It was this which inſpired a young poet with that ſublime verſe, which ought to be written at the bottom of all Henry the Fourth's portraits:

" Seul roi, de qui le pauvre ait gardè la
" memoire."

Doubtleſs, we have exceeded the bounds which we had preſcribed ourſelves; but when HENRY IV. is the ſubject, an irreſiſtible inclination leads us on; it ſeems like ſpeaking of a dear friend.—Beſides, at a time when public education is the univerſal topic; when models and examples are ſought for, as alſo leſſons of morality, which naturally ſupply the place of religion, at this time ſo little attended to; we cannot do better than

than diſplay the moral character of Henry IV. and this is what we wiſh to do.—In a few pages, we have collected the ſubſtance; it is all taken from his actions, and may be truly called leſſons of morality and philoſophy for kings.

After Cæſar's example, Henry, during the leiſure which peace afforded him, formed a deſign of writing memoirs of his life; of a life ſo agitated, ſo fruitful in great events, and which could not fail of being uncommonly intereſting, as coming from the pen, not only of ſuch an hiſtorian, but from the hero himſelf. It was the ſtill celebrated Caſaubon who furniſhed us with this valuable anecdote, which was too long unknown. "I remember," ſaid he in his excellent preface of Polybius, addreſſed to this prince a year before his death, "I remember to have "heard your Majeſty ſay, theſe Memoirs "were begun with the deſign to finiſh "them, provided the affairs of ſtate "would give you ſufficient time."—What ſecrets he would have been able to have revealed to us! What a misfortune, that a cruel attempt ſhould have deprived France, and even all Europe of a leſſon ſo inſtructive, and of which we might have been able to draw a com-

pariſon between the Commentaries of the Conqueror at Ivry, and thoſe of the Conqueror of Pharſalia (80)!

This prince did not even diſdain to amuſe himſelf ſometimes with compoſing verſes. This poetical genius he inherited from his relations on his mother's ſide, as not only his mother, but her ſiſter and her grandmother, were all poets (81). The verſes he made on the beautiful d'Eſtrees are ſtill ſung:

" Charmante Gabrielle,
" Percé de mille dards,
" Quand la gloire m'appelle
" Sous les drapeaux de Mars *,
" Cruelle departie †!
" Malheureux jour,
" Que ne ſuis je ſans vie
" Ou ſans amour!
" Faut il que je vous quitte §
" Ah cruel ſouvenir,
" Ma douleur s'en irrite
" Vous revoir ou mourir.
" Cruelle departie! &c.

" Je

* Ou lit dans un ancien manuſcrit,
" à la ſuite de Mars."

† Departie, " ſeparation."

§ Suivant M. de la Borde dans les Eſſais ſur la Muſique,
" Bel aſtre que je quitte."

" Je veux que mes trompettes,
" Les fiffres, les echos
" Inceſſamment * répetent
" Ces doux & triſte mots:
" Cruelle departie! &c.
" Partagez ma couronne,
" Le prix de ma valeur,
" Je la tiens de Bellone,
" Tenez la de mon cœur:
" Cruelle departie!
" Malheureux jour,
" Que ne ſuis je ſans vie,
" Ou ſans amour!"

Who is there that can ever forget that charming impromptu which he made on the Counteſs of Cleves his aunt†? Coming one day into her apartment, he found her tablets open, on which De Noailles, who was in love with that princeſs, had written theſe words:

" Nul heur nul bien ne me contente
" Abſent de ma divinité."

Henry added theſe lines to them:

" N'appelez pas ainſi ma tante
" Elle aime trop l'humanité."

He alſo made verſes on the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, whoſe praiſes he ſung under

 the

* Suivant Monſ. de la Borde,
" à tous momens."

† Margueréte de Bourbon.

the name of Life. At the top of the poem he wrote theſe words, "*Verſes* "*made by the perſon who ſends them to you*;" which looks as if the great folks of that age did not always write their own poetry. Even Henry himſelf had not always leiſure to record his miſtreſſes in verſe. As a King, a Soldier, and a Lover, he had little time to loſe; in that caſe he had recourſe to the beſt poets of his time, who ſerved him as interpreters of his ſecret thoughts; and under the concealed name of Alcander, more than one of thoſe famous poets celebrated the beauties of ſeveral young ladies, who were not inſenſible to the ſoft language (82). But one of the beſt pieces attributed to Henry, and the leaſt known of them, is that which we are going to tranſcribe; we have had a hope given us of ſeeing it in the original hand-writing of this prince.

" Viens Aurore,
" Je t'implore
" Je ſuis gai quand je te vois,
" Et la Bergere
" Qui m'eſt chere
" Et vermeil comme toi.

" Elle

" Elle eſt blonde,
" Sans ſeconde,
" Elle a la taille à la main ;
" Sa prunelle
" Etincelle
" Comme l'aſtre du matin.

" De roſée,
" Arroſée,
" La roſe a moins de fraicheur ;
" Une hermine,
" Eſt moins fine,
" Le lys a moins de blancheur.

" D'ambroiſie,
" Bien choſée,
" Hébé la nourrit a part ;
" Et ſa bouche,
" Quand j'y touche,
" Me parfume de nectar (83)."

Such was this prince, whom I will venture to ſay, was never thoroughly known. If it is conſidered, that he preſerved his freedom of mind, his conſtant chearfulneſs, his taſte for learning, and his morality, in the midſt of battles and adverſity, the horrors of the League, fanaticiſm, and poignards, as we may ſay, ſuſpended over his head; we muſt be obliged to confeſs, that no other man, and particularly no other king, was ever poſſeſſed of

ſo happy a diſpoſition: and that he only wanted more reſt, better times, and a longer reign, in order to have robbed his grandſon of the glory of having revived the ages of Alexander, Auguſtus, and Medicis. But, accuſtomed to regard him only as a hero and a conqueror, or rather led by that tender ſentiment which makes us venerate a good king, which doubtleſs adds moſt to his renown, this friend to arts and learning had eſcaped us. Dazzled with the brilliant reign of Lewis XIV. we look with an eye of pity on thoſe which preceded it; we ſcarce even deign to remember that of his grandfather. Doubtleſs, it is but right to do juſtice to the age of genius; and we are the firſt to proſtrate ourſelves before the ſtatues of thoſe great men who have paid her ſuch immortal honours: but let us not be unjuſt in the midſt of our opulence. We ought, perhaps, to regard with leſs indifference the half age, which ſaw ſo many different talents flouriſh; it was the real epocha of the reſtoration of letters. They have never ſince that time met with any thing to darken them, or prevent their flouriſhing; and the reign of Henry IV. gave birth to the firſt great man of the age of

Lewis

Lewis XIV. What illuſtrious names were there at that time! Montaigne, whom no philoſopher ever yet ſurpaſſed in the knowledge of the human heart, has ſtamped his genius on his immortal Eſſays. Charron proved himſelf worthy to be the interpreter of wiſdom. De Thou, who compoſed that fine hiſtory, which perhaps is the only one calculated to make the nation proud. The great L'Hopital, of whom Henry knew but little, promiſed to be a legiſlator to France. Bodin ventured to examine into the rights of ſubjects, and pointed out a plan for that republic which Monteſquieu firſt formed the idea of. The ingenious authors of the ſatire Menippus plentifully beſtowed their ridicule on the enemies of their country, by the poignancy of their writings. Amyot publiſhed his tranſlations of Plutarch and Longinus, which after two centuries have paſſed, ſtill give us ſo much pleaſure, by that charming naiveté they poſſeſs. Pithou, Dupuy, and Sainte Marthe, the Varrons of their time, appear to exhauſt the mines of antiquity, in order to enrich the moderns. Mornay and D'Aubigny were equally ſucceſsful with their pens as their ſwords.

Bertaud,

Bertaud, Des Portes, Paſſerat, compoſed verſes, the beauty and ſimplicity of which have ſtill charms for their readers. Regnier, whom Boileau has not diſdained to imitate, copied the ancients cloſely. At length Malherbe came, for it was in Henry the Fourth's reign that this compoſer of French harmony made the firſt beautiful verſes that were written in our language. A happy revolution ſucceeded. As yet, France had only the character of being learned. The dawn of fine taſte began now to ſhine, but the generality were not yet enlightened; for it was from the theatres the rays of light were collected and tranſmitted to the different claſſes of ſociety, and theſe were yet in their infancy (84). It was in vain the monarch had given countenance to the eſtabliſhment of a ſecond theatre in his capital (85); and in vain the too florid Hardi had tried to renew with us the moſt beautiful, as well as the moſt ſublime arts: too weak to ſucceed to ſuch an height, this poet was ſunk back to the ſame point from which he ſet out. But the great Corneille was already born; and if Henry IV. had lived twenty years more, which according to the order of nature might have been expected, he might

might have ſeen the firſt *chef d'œuvre* of the French ſtage open (86). Richelieu would not have exiſted for France, and Henry IV. had never been jealous of the *Cid*. He alone would have prepared, and even more rapidly than the deſpotic miniſter of Lewis XIII. the noble reign of Lewis XIV. Let us, therefore, when we praiſe this truly great man, remember, that he enjoyed peace only for twelve years of his reign, and that his grandſon reigned more than ſeventy.—That we were ſtill in a ſtate of barbarity, and that he drew us from it. —That if he did not ſooner rekindle the torch of learning, it was becauſe the errors of fanaticiſm had ſtill too much influence; that he often uſed to ſay, "*he hoped* "*to diſpoſe of his laſt years in acquiring* "*glory*;" and that it was the poignard of an execrable aſſaſſin who ſhortened the thread of his life.—In ſhort, when Henry IV. is the ſubject of our diſcourſe, whether we ſpeak of learning or arts; whether we re-trace his admirable virtues, or that we recall to our minds that his great object was the public felicity; it will always be neceſſary to conclude by lamenting the ſurpriſing deſtiny of this friend to mankind, and to weep over his

his tomb, ſaying theſe words: "He lived "too ſhort a time for the glory of "France, and for the happineſs of all "mankind!"

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE (1.)

Of the Education of Henry IV. Page 4.

IT is from memoirs on the private life of Henry IV. which is ſtill in manuſcript, that we have collected theſe articles which concern the youth and education of this prince. Few people are ignorant that the young Bourbon was bred up in the midſt of mountains, more like a Spartan, than the ſon of ſo many kings; and that he ſpent the earlieſt and the pleaſanteſt part of his life there. When he was eight years old, he was ſent to Paris, to the College of Navarre, in order to be inſtructed. He had two companions there, the Duke of Anjou, who was his king, and the Duke de Guiſe, who wanted to be ſo. Mathieu cité Hiſtoire Latine du College de Navarre, par Launoy, in 4to. Tom. I. p. 341.

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He continued there only a twelvemonth; Jane d'Albret would not ſuffer him to remain any longer ſo near Catherine de Medicis. She brought her ſon back to Bern, where he renewed his former way of living, far from all public diverſions, or the contagion of a court. This princeſs placed round him the moſt learned, as well as the moſt virtuous, men of the age: Pons de la Caze, Beauvoir, La Gaucherie, Florent Chretien, who were all Proteſtants, were his tutors. This occaſioned Jean Jacques to ſay, "that the beſt of our "kings was that one who was not educated "by prieſts." Their leſſons were all practical, and it was by that means that he learned the elements of the ſciences, as well as the moſt beautiful paſſages of the Greek and Latin languages. The queen herſelf paid great attention to his education, and in particular gave ſtrict orders that neither valets or flatterers ſhould ever be ſuffered to approach him. Voyez Memoires de Nevers, in fol. Tom. II. p. 586, 587.

Before he was fifteen, Henry made his firſt campaign; from thence he went to the ſchools of Coligny, Des Mornay, Des la Noue; and from that time to the peace of Vervins, which was thirty years, he was almoſt always armed, and on horſeback.

NOTE (2). *Jean d'Albret, Mere de Hen. IV.* p. 4.—No one could be a better judge of the progreſs Henry made in his education than his mother. She not only loved and encouraged men of learning, and welcomed them to her

her court, but was herſelf well inſtructed; ſhe ſpoke with great fluency the Latin and Spaniſh languages, and had ſome knowledge of Greek, which ſhe learned from Nicholas Bourbon. She alſo condeſcended ſometimes to write poetry. Her letters are written with ſtrong ſenſe and energy. The laſt ſhe wrote to him a ſhort time before her death, is remarkable for the deſcription ſhe gives in it of the court of Valois. She concludes it thus: "I approve your letter much; if I am able "I ſhall ſhew it to Madame *. As to her "picture, I ſhall endeavour to procure it "from Paris. She is handſome, affable, and "circumſpect in her behaviour; but has been "bred up in the moſt ſhocking corrupted ſo-"ciety that ever was known. This is *entre* "*nous*. The bearer of this will tell you in "what manner the king endeavours to eman-"cipate himſelf: it is great pity! I would "not for all the world have you here for any "length of time. It is for this reaſon I wiſh "you married, and that you and your wife "might retire from this ſcene of libertiniſm; "for though I always thought it bad, I find "it much more ſo. It is not here that men "ſolicit the ladies; it is the women who "make court to the gentlemen."

This letter was written ſome months before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. (Vide Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, Tom. I. p. 861.) D'Aubigny ſays, this queen had nothing feminine about her, but her appearance and dreſs. Her ſoul was entirely filled with

* Margaret of Valois, ſiſter to the king.

with maſculine ideas, her mind capable of the greateſt actions, and her heart able to ſupport the moſt cruel adverſity. We have taken the abridgment of her life from the account (which is ſtill in manuſcript) of the illuſtrious perſons in the reign of Henry IV.

NOTE (3). *Henry IV. had ſome ſmall knowledge of Greek*, p. 4.—Whether Henry underſtood Greek or not, may perhaps appear to be of very little conſequence, by way of adding to his renown; but in fact it was not ſo, as from that knowledge he reaped great advantages. We ſhall relate an incident on this ſubject, which is not known to hiſtorians. When Henry was ten years old, in the year 1563, he went to the court of France, attended by his preceptor La Gaucherie; and in one of thoſe public entertainments after the Italian faſhion, which was brought thither by Medicis, and where every one made choice of a device, the little prince of Berne, whoſe genteel addreſs pleaſed every body, took for his motto theſe words: η Νικᾶν η απο θανειν, "either conquer or "die." Medicis aſked the child what was the meaning of it? he could not be prevailed on to tell her. She learned from others the meaning was, "to conquer or die." The queen was diſpleaſed, and forbid his being taught ſuch ſentences, which ſhe ſaid were only calculated to make him obſtinate. This device, however, was one of thoſe which ſtruck Henry moſt, and which all his future conduct exemplified. Vide Hiſtoire de Paris, in fol. Tom. II. p. 1091.

There

There remains but few traces of the method which La Gaucherie made uſe of for the education of his pupil, but thoſe few are very valuable. He firſt kept him from books, which is what Montaigne tells us, who had a moſt excellent education, was the method practiſed with him; and ſince then, Rouſſeau has adopted the ſame plan for his Emilius. It was in the midſt of his amuſements that he inſpired the young Bourbon with the deſire of knowledge. He inſtructed him more by converſations adapted to his comprehenſion, than by the uſual methods, which are ſo defective, and ſo full of difficulties. He very early taught him hiſtory, not by overloading his mind with facts and dates, but in making him extract the moral from it. La Gaucherie found out, and which was ſomething extraordinary in an age like that, where there was more learning than taſte, that a fine ſentiment, an heroic action, or a ſublime maxim, were better calculated to form the mind of his pupil, than a deſcription of twenty battles, or a liſt of the names of a number of kings, already forgotten. He gave the preference to ancient hiſtory, where may be found more noble examples which elevate the mind, and more lives of illuſtrious men, from whoſe hiſtory a young prince might take a model of every virtue. He dwelt much on the examples of heroiſm and benevolence, and for his pupil's better inſtruction, made an extract of the moſt approved maxims of the ancients, and endeavoured to inculcate them in the mind of Henry, from whence they were never effaced.

effaced. Henry a long time afterwards recollected them with pleaſure, and always quoted them with great propriety.

NOTE (4). *Cæſar's Commentaries tranſlated by Henry IV.* p. 4.—Never had a hero a more honourable interpreter. The learned Caſaubon, in his epiſtle dedicatory of the tranſlation of Polybius, addreſſed to Henry IV. in 1609, confirms this fact, already known, and adds, that the manuſcript of it, written by this prince, ſtill remained in the royal library, which he could not be miſtaken in, as he himſelf depoſited it there. Theſe are his words: "Have you not in your infancy "tranſlated the Commentaries of Cæſar into "French? I have myſelf ſeen it; yes, I have "ſeen it, and read with admiration the ſheets "containing this work, ſo finely written by "your own hand." Voyez la belle preface Latine a la teſe du Polybius du Caſaubon, edit. in fol. de 1609, & Recueil de ſes Lettres auſſi, in fol. p. 55.

We have ſought, but in vain, for this precious manuſcript in the king's library, and to our great concern find it does not remain there. We read in the firſt volume of the Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de la France, par M. de Fontete, p. 239. No. 3880, that the two firſt books of Cæſar's Commentaries, written by Henry IV. were taken from this library by des Noyers, Secretary of State, and preſented to Lewis XIII. Perhaps they remain as a family book in the king's cabinet.

NOTE

NOTE (5). *He underſtood Latin*, p. 5.—To the examples already quoted, we ſhall add the following: In his youth, having drawn an antique vaſe with his pen, he wrote under it, "*Opus principis otioſi.*" The ſon of Florent Chretien, after Henry IV. was become king of France, was kind enough to ſhew this drawing to many of his friends. When he was only king of Navarre, he wrote to Sully, who had intreated him not to expoſe himſelf to ſo much danger, "My friend, it muſt be "ſo; *aut Cæſar, aut nihil.*" The Parliament having refuſed to regiſter one of his edicts *, "Ah, gentlemen!" ſaid he to the deputies, with that mildneſs and pleaſantry which was ſo natural to him, "let me at "leaſt be treated as you treat the monks, and "do not refuſe me *victum & veſtitum:* You "you know I am a temperate man; and as "to my dreſs, look at me, Monſieur le Pre-"ſident, and ſee how I am accoutred." No perſon at court dreſſed ſo plainly as himſelf. Tablettes des Rois de France, Tom. III. p. 97.

If he ſometimes made uſe of Latin quotations, it was not that he wiſhed to make a parade of his learning in that way, but on the contrary, he ſeemed to apologize for it. One day exhorting the magiſtrates to do their duty, not like ſo many ſlaves, afraid of being chaſtiſed, but wholly for the ſake of juſtice; "I "formerly," ſaid he, "learned two Latin "verſes;

* The Edict of Conſignments.

" verſes; I ſcarce know whether I can re-
" member them:

" *Oderunt peccare mali, formidine pœnæ,*
" *Oderunt peccare boni, virtutis amore.*

" It is now above twenty years ſince I have re-
" peated them. For God's ſake, Gentlemen,
" as I know ſome of you hate injuſtice, I
" intreat you to act for the love of virtue."
Harangue de Hen. IV. au Parlement en 1599, dans un manuſcrit in fol. appartenaut a l'auteur, piece cotée T.

The day that Sully went on his embaſſy to the queen Elizabeth, Henry ſaid to him, at the ſame time putting a *carte blanche* into his hand, " I remember a Latin proverb, but I
" do not know whether I can pronounce the
" words properly: *Mitte ſapientem & nihil*
" *dicas.*" It was impoſſible to make a compliment at the ſame time ſo delicate and ſo flattering. Mem. de Sully, Tom. II. p. 227. Sully, who on his part never flattered his friend, ſays in his Memoirs, " This was en-
" tirely your own doing; for being ſtill very
" young, you ordered theſe three words to be
" inſcribed round your counters; *Nihil ſine*
" *conſilio.*" Voy. les vrais Memoires de Sully, Tom. III. p. 178. Henry admired thoſe devices, which contained a great deal in few words; and was always pleaſed whenever he met with ſuch. In 1588, the duke of Savoy taking advantage of the times, made himſelf maſter of the marquiſate of Saluces, notwithſtanding the peace was concluded, and, as if he was deſirous of perpetuating our diſgrace,

and

and his own uſurpation, he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, with nothing more than the word *opportune* round it. Henry IV. in full poſſeſſion of his kingdom, marched at the head of a flouriſhing army to retake the marquiſate, and ordered a ſimilar medal to be ſtruck, on which he cauſed the word *opportunius* only to be engraved. Mercure Francois, année 1601. & Mem. de Sully, Tom. II. p. 10.

Sully uſed every year to preſent the king with different ſubjects for medals, in order to immortaliſe the events of his reign; but ſometimes the king gave the ſubjects to Sully, as he did particularly in 1606, which, although a time of peace, was yet more a time of trouble, by the fermentation the League had occaſioned. Henry choſe for a device, a buckler reſting on a bunch of laurels; and for a motto, he fixed on theſe words:

"*Mihi plebis amor.*"

Could any thing be thought of more noble, or more to the purpoſe? To make it underſtood, that, notwithſtanding the numerous plots laid againſt his life, the love of his ſubjects was the ſole defence which he oppoſed to the deſigns of the fanatics, "My ſhield," ſaid he, "is the love of my people." Voyez les vrais Mem. de Sully, ſous les années 1601 & 1606, Tom. III. p. 1.

Note (6). *Plutarch was his favourite author*, p. 8.—An incident which happened in his youth, and which has hitherto remained unknown, points out the ſpirit with which he

read Plutarch, and the effects he drew from this author. Henry was about eleven years old; the lives of Camillus and Coriolanus had juſt been read to him: La Gaucherie aſked him, "which of the two heroes he "wiſhed moſt to reſemble?" The young prince, charmed with the virtues of Camillus, who forgot his revenge to ſave his country, not only gave him the preference without the ſmalleſt heſitation, but blamed the wrath of Coriolanus, who, deaf to their intreaties, carried fire and ſword into his country, to ſatisfy his vengeance; and repeating the exploits of both the Romans, Henry extolled the generoſity of Camillus, as much as he execrated the crime of the other. La Gaucherie ſeeing him thus inflamed, ſaid to him, "And you "alſo have a Coriolanus in your family."— And then this wiſe inſtructor related to him the hiſtory of the Conſtable of Bourbon, and told him, that this great and perſecuted man made uſe of his talents and vengeance for Charles V. the moſt bitter enemy of his king: that he returned to his own country at the head of a formidable army, carrying every where terror and deſolation; and in ſhort, his implacable hatred, and his fatal ſucceſs, was within a ſmall matter the deſtruction of France. During this recital, the young prince was much agitated; got up, and ſat down; walked about the chamber, ſtamped with his feet, and even ſhed tears of anger, which he vainly endeavoured to conceal: at length, not being able to contain himſelf any longer, he took up a pen, and running to a

genealogical

genealogical table of the houſe of Bourbon, which hung up in the room, he eraſed the name of the Conſtable, and wrote in its place that of the Chevalier Bayard *.

NOTE (7). *Florent Chretien his precepter*, p. 9.—Henry loſt La Gaucherie when he was thirteen. Florent Chretien continued and brought to perfection the work he had begun. The prince kept him about his perſon many years, even after his marriage: and it was then that he begged him to divide his attention between him and the young Roſny, whom he particularly deſired might be taught hiſtory and mathematics. Voy. vrais Mem. de Sully, Tom. III. Epitre Liminaire, p. 7. Henry being obliged during the war to retire to Orleans, his own country, and afterwards being even under a neceſſity to quit that aſylum alſo, Florent Chretien took refuge at Vendome, under the ſhelter of his ſcholar. Henry ſerving him to his taſte, appointed him keeper of the ſmall library which the ancient Bourbons had in that city, and which was one of the principal things they had left belonging to them; but this place being beſieged and taken by the Leaguers, Chretien was taken priſoner. His noble and generous pupil, ſays De Thou, immediately procured his liberty, and very generouſly paid his ranſom. Année 1596. Voy. auſſi les addit. aux

* This trait is taken from a treatiſe on education, which will appear very ſoon. Chez Moutard, bookſeller to the queen.

Eloges de De Thou, par Teſſier, Tom. II. p. 255, & 258.

NOTE (8). *Ronſard*, p. 10.—Ronſard addreſſed many poems to Jane d'Albret, Henry the Fourth's mother. One of them was written on the birth of that prince, called in his infancy duke de Beaumont. When he became king of Navarre, he gave him proofs of his liberality; and, to reward him for a ſonnet, he gave him a conſiderable part of the foreſt of Vendome, which city was the patrimony of the Bourbons, and the country of this poet. It is ſomewhat ſingular, that Ronſard, at a time when there were ſtill three princes of the race of Valois living, predicted to Henry IV. that he would come to be king of France.

" *Mon prince, illuſtre ſang de la race Bourbonne,*
" *A qui le ciel promet de porter la Couronne*
" *Que ton grand Saint Louis porta deſſus le*
" *front,*" &c.

Voy. œuvres de Rouſard, edit. de 1617, Tom. X. p. 173. Lettres de Paſquier. Tablettes des Rois des France, Tom. III. p. 25.

NOTE (9). *The College Royal deſerted more than twenty years*, p. 11.—During the League, it had been turned into ſtables; for the men of letters, friends to peace and quietneſs, had abandoned the capital. Henry thought it neceſſary in 1588, to order an edict, forbidding any member of the univerſity to quit Paris. But it is not edicts which make people

fond

fond of learning; and the reading Homer or Virgil is not to be commanded, as you would lay on a tax. Henry IV. brought back their confidence, together with the peace, and all the profeſſors returned. The king gave them an audience with which they were delighted; he not only reinſtated them in all their places, but ordered they ſhould be paid all that was due to them during the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. even during the time that the ſchools were ſhut, and when he was himſelf excluded from the capital, to the year 1594, when Paris opened her gates to receive him. And it is to be obſerved, that many of theſe profeſſors, particularly the famous Scotch Creighton, as well as others, had been among the Leaguers. Voy. les Memoires ſur le College Royal, p. 71. ſecond part, p. 77 & 105. & third part, p. 80.

NOTE (10). *Paſſerat one of the fineſt beaux eſprits of the age*, p. 11.—He was a happy imitator of ancient poetry in the Latin tongue, and has often ſhewn himſelf worthy to be called ſo, in his French poetry. Every body knows his pretty tale, entitled, *Metamorphoſe d'un Homme en Oiſeau ou le Coucou*, as it is preſerved in all collections. It is written in the manner of Fontaine, and poſſeſſes his agreeable negligence, grace, and naivetè, except in ſome few expreſſions, which ſeem rather more laboured. This piece would not diſgrace the beſt collection of tales: it may be truly ſaid, that Paſſerat came nearer to Fontaine than any one has ſince done, though he was an age

before him. He was profeſſor of Latin oratory at the College Roval; but although the unhappy times had made the ſchools deſerted, and the College ſhut up, yet the leiſure hours of Paſſerat were not unuſeful to Henry IV. he wrote part of the ſatire Menippus; and moſt of the verſes with which that ingenious poem is ſharpened, came from his pen. He had always manifeſted his zeal for the intereſt of his country, and for his lawful prince. After the converſion of Henry IV. and when it was ſtill in doubt where he would be crowned, as Rheims was then in the poſſeſſion of the Leaguers, Paſſerat addreſſed theſe verſes to him, which began and finiſhed thus:

" *Prince victorieux le meillieur des humains,*
" * * * * * *
" *Quand tu commanderois ſans ſceptre & ſans*
" *coronne;*
" *Pour cela toutefois moins Roi tu ne ſerois*
" *C'eſt la vertu qui ſacre & couronne les Rois.*"

Soon after the reduction of Paris, Paſſerat and the other profeſſors reſumed their lectures, which were no more interrupted; and during ſixteen years which followed, they bred up many excellent ſcholars.

NOTE (11). *He drew Caſaubon into France*, p. 12.—One of Henry's firſt attentions after the peace, was to write a letter to Caſaubon, ſimilar to that which afterwards did ſo much honour to Lewis XIV. It began as follows: " Monſieur de Caſaubon, having debated on " the beſt means of reſtoring the univerſity of

" Paris

" Paris to its former honours, and to draw " hither for this purpoſe the moſt learned " men I can poſſibly procure, being con- " vinced that you are at this time one of that " number, I have reſolved to appoint you " profeſſor of learning in the abovementioned " univerſity, and give you this place, to the " end that I may aſſure myſelf you will be " ſatisfied with it," &c. This letter, written in Jan. 1599, was found entire in l'Apologie de Caſaubon, in 8vo. 1621, p. 147. Henry wrote to Sully in his favour, and named him his librarian, not without much oppoſition on the part of thoſe who aſpired to the ſame place; his religion was made the pretext, but his merit the true motive. However, the king by his firmneſs put aſide all obſtacles. In 1609, he dedicated to this prince his Latin tranſlation of Polybius; his epiſtle dedicatory is regarded by the learned as a *chef d'œuvre* for ſtyle, and the eulogium which is there made on Henry IV. as the fineſt monument of his gratitude: in it he pays a proper reſpect to his virtues, to the qualities of his mind, to his natural eloquence, and to his lively and ſucceſsful repartees; and above all, he praiſes him for the protection he gave to the Muſes, by reſtoring them to their former ſplendor. Vide la Preface Latine a la tete du Polybe, edit. in fol. de 1609, & celle d'Athenée auſſi dediée a Hen. IV. in fol. 1600. But having loſt his protector, he would not ſtay longer in France, ſo retired to England, where he died in 1614, and was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey. On his tomb,

amongſt other eulogiums are written theſe words:

" *Henricus IV. Francorum Rex invictiſſimus,*
" *Lutetiam Litteris ſuis evocatum, Bibliothecæ*
" *ſuæ præfecit; Carumque deinceps dum vixit*
" *habuit; coque terris erepto Jacobus, &c.*"

This celebrated profeſſor, being one day at the Sorbonne, where he was ſhewn every thing that was remarkable. " See here," ſaid the perſon who ſhewed it, " A hall, where there " has been diſputing, for theſe four hundred " years, and how have they determined their " diſputes at laſt?" ſaid he. T. Brown's Works, London 1760, Vol. I. p. 142.

Let us obſerve for the honour of Letters, that one of his ſons, who remained in England, and being made a prebend of Canterbury, refuſed a penſion from Oliver Cromwell, which that uſurper offered him, to engage him to write his hiſtory. Voy. les Mem. de De Thou Niceron, Tom. 18 and 20, and Dictionaire de Chauffepié.

NOTE (12). *He wanted to fix Grotius there*, p. 12.—Grotius, ſo celebrated from the age of ſixteen, was at the treaty of Vervins, in the ſuite of the great Dutch Penſioner, the famous Barnevelt, who came to Henry to ſettle the terms concerning the liberty of his country. The prince, informed of the great merit of Grotius, diſtinguiſhed him in the moſt flattering manner, and made him a preſent of a gold chain to which his picture was annexed. The young ſtranger was ſo charmed with

with this kind reception, that he had his own picture drawn, with the chain, and the king's portrait, round his neck; and on this incident he made the verſes which begin thus:

"*Contingimus dextram qua nulla potentior armis, &c.*"

The king's intention was to fix Grotius in France, and to appoint him joint keeper of his Library, with Caſaubon. "You will "there," ſays Henry, "ſee all my valuable "books, and you can then give me an ac-"count of what they contain," added he, in the moſt gracious manner. But as the negociation, which was the cauſe of his coming to France, did not ſucceed, Grotius did not think it right to deprive his own country of thoſe talents which they claimed for themſelves. Voy. ſa vie en deux volumes, par M. de Burigny.

NOTE (13). *The Fleming Birtius*, p. 22 — Birtius a profeſſor at Leyden, being perſecuted in his own country, not only found an aſylum with Henry IV. but was appointed coſmographer to the king, and profeſſor of Mathematics. His Geographie de Ptolomée, is ſtill ſought after by the learned. Vide Hiſtoire du College Royal in 4to. p. 66.

NOTE (14). *Juſte Lipſe*, p. 12.—This writer's character was ſo great, that many ſovereigns diſputed with each other which ſhould retain him in their kingdoms. They called Juſte Lipſe, Scaliger, and Caſaubon,

the triumvirate in the republic of letters. Voy. Addition de Teſſier, aux eloges de de Thou, Tom. II. p. 384.

NOTE (15). *Vignier, and ſome other French men*, p. 14.—The ſtorm raiſed in France, againſt the Proteſtants, had particularly fallen on men of Letters; but this is not the place in which we ſhall give a liſt of thoſe, ſo perſecuted, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning Vignier, who after wandering all over Germany, did not return to his own country till after Henry had reached the throne. He was then made phyſician to the king, with the title of Hiſtorigrapher of France, which he merited by his learned enquiries into its antiquities. Voy. dans Fontette la liſte de ſes ouvrages.

NOTE (16). *Calignon*, p. 13.—Calignon was ſecretary to the embaſſy, which was ſent by the duke of Savoy, to Henry IV. then king of Navarre, to demand his ſiſter in marriage, and was then only known by his love of ſtudy, and ſome verſes he had written. This negociation being unſucceſsful, young Calignon was about to depart with the ambaſſador; but Henry, whoſe age was nearly the ſame, and who had not ſuffered his merit to eſcape his notice, made him a propoſal to continue with him, and directly made him his ſecretary, an office he executed ſo well, that Henry had great reaſon to applaud himſelf for having diſtinguiſhed him. He employed him in the moſt intricate affairs, and ſent him ambaſſador

to

to Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and England. This miniſter continued, notwithſtanding his talents for buſineſs and negociations, to cultivate letters, and thus by uniting them together, became more eſtimable, and more uſeful to Henry IV. when the Pope's unjuſt Bull was publiſhed, by which this hero was pronounced incapable of inheriting the crown. Calignon repulſed this injury, by writing a pamphlet filled with ſo much knowledge and eloquence, and written with ſo much energy, that it was applauded by the king, and all his good ſubjects. He was one of thoſe, whom Henry appointed to draw up the edict of Nantes, and the only one of the four commiſſioners who was a Proteſtant. On his performing ſome new ſervice, the monarch wrote to him as follows: "I "knew before now, that you were one of the "moſt able men in my kingdom, and that I "had no ſervant more attached to me than "yourſelf. But I have juſt heard what you "have done in Languedoc, with which I am "extremely well pleaſed, &c." Henry did not content himſelf with beſtowing only praiſes, he appointed him ſucceſſively to be preſident of the parliament at Grenoble, intendant of his armies, intendant general of the Houſe of Navarre, of his council of finances; chancellor of Navarre, &c. All theſe were appointments which he never ſolicited. This prince often ſaid afterwards, had Calignon been a Catholic, he would have made him chancellor of France. Voy. de Thou, in 4to. Tom. 14. Addition aux eloges

de

de Thou, Tom. 2, p. 376 and 378, ſa Vie par Guy Allard, &c.

NOTE (17). *Fenouillet Biſhop of Montpellier*, p. 14.—The moſt eloquent preacher of his time, or rather the firſt, who did preach with eloquence. Henry IV. had frequently heard him with great pleaſure. Thus did he derive his fortune from his oratory. Fenouillet was born in the duke of Savoy's dominions, but to fix him in France the king appointed him his preacher in ordinary, and in 1608 made him biſhop of Montpellier, although he was not thirty years old. And this he did entirely of his own accord, for Sully having aſked him to appoint him Biſhop of Poitiers, he gave that to another, and acquainted Fenouillet, he had made him biſhop of Montpellier, he ſaid to him, "I was determined, that you ſhould be obliged to no one but myſelf." The clergy of Montpellier were ſo well pleaſed with having this prelate at their head, that they ſent a deputation to the king, to thank him for the preſent he had made them. Theſe words are written on his tomb-ſtone:

"*Regibus noſtris*;
"*Præſertim Henrico IV. unicè Carus.*

Voy. l'Hiſtoire de Montpellier, par d'Aigreſeuille.

NOTE (18). *Coeffeteau*, p. 14.—Coeffeteau was a Jacobin, introduced by du Perron, to Henry IV. who, in ſpite of the prejudices, which at that time were ſpread againſt his order,

order, immediately made him one of his preachers, and afterwards titular Biſhop of Dardania. The king made choice of him, to anſwer James I. of England, who by a deſtiny, ſince ſo fatal to the race of Stuarts, had began to interfere, and write on ſubjects of controverſy. In his diſcuſſions upon theſe matters, the Dominican, who was naturally moderate and gentle, did not give himſelf up to that violence of warmth, which the controverſal writers in that age were accuſed of. He contented himſelf with oppoſing reaſon to the royal author. The beſt of his writings is his Roman Hiſtory, and is the only one worth reading in French, before thoſe of Vertot and Rollin. Voy. ſon eloge par Perrault in Fol. Tom. 2. Eſſais ſur les Honneurs Litteraires de Titon du Tillet, p. 366, &c.

Note (19). *Coligny, in his writings, &c.* p. 15.—Coligny was Henry the Fourth's firſt maſter in the art of war, he was eloquent and even learned. Brantome ſays, "In his leiſure "intervals, he read, and ſtudied much, and "that he ſpoke Latin very fluently, but what "was ſtill more eſtimable in him, was that "he poſſeſſed all the fortitude of the Romans, "and, that at that time he was, perhaps the "only man who was capable of forming a "good conſtitution, and eſtabliſhing it on "ſure and ſolid foundations." This is not the proper place to explain his methods, and to examine whether France was yet ready for liberty. It is certain that his republican principles were miſplaced in a monarchy,

and

and it was unavoidable in the end, that he ſhould either be oppreſſed himſelf, or oppreſs others. He alſo wrote ſome commentaries, the manuſcripts of which were burned by Gondi de Retz, the Italian. "After the murder of "Coligny," ſays Bramtome, "there was "found a beautiful book which he had com-"poſed, containing the moſt remarkable "events of his time, and during the civil "wars. This book was reported to king "Charles, as being well written and worth "publiſhing, but the marſhal de Retz pre-"vented it by throwing it into the fire, and "burning it: being either envious of the "entertainment it afforded, or the advan-"tages to be drawn from it, or jealous of "the perſon who might acquire ſuch glory "and renown by being the author. This "ought never to be the caſe, ſince envy can "only take place in minds that are ſimilar." Hommes illuſtres de Brantome, Tom. 8. p. 218.

NOTE (20). *La Noue wrote his political Diſcourſes*, p. 15.--After Coligny's death, the learned La Noue was the counſellor, the director, and the oracle, of the young king of Navarre, who could not have made a better choice, for he had given ſuch proofs of his virtues, that he was equally reſpected by both parties. Theſe verſes ſeem, as if made for him:

"*Jamais l'Air de la Cour et ſon ſouffle infecté*
"*N'altera de ſon Cœur l'auſtere pureté.*"

HENRIADE.

This

This hero fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and to paſs away his time during a long impriſonment, he compoſed his political and military Diſcourſes, which in 1587 were printed, and dedicated to his royal pupil. Theſe memoirs are not ſufficiently known. The wiſdom, moderation and impartiality, which they contain, makes them moſt valuable. He as freely cenſures the faults of his own party, as he extolls with the greateſt candour every thing that was praiſe worthy on the other ſide, ſo that it was difficult to perceive, that it was written by a Proteſtant. An extraordinary, and almoſt ſingular proof of his merit, in times, when the minds of men were ſo agitated by violent party rage, that they ſcarce ever permitted cool reaſon to be attended to. A ſudden death ſnatched him away too ſoon for France, as well as for the age in which he lived. Henry was ſenſibly concerned for his loſs. "He was an excel-"lent ſoldier," ſaid he, "and what is ſtill "better, he was a great, and a good man." Voy. ſa Vie par Moyſe Amirault.

NOTE (21). *Mornay's Memoires*, p. 15—Mornay ſucceeded to La Noue's place, under Henry IV. This uninterrupted ſucceſſion of great men, who gained his friendſhip and confidence, is very proper to be remarked. Jane d' Albret his mother, and his firſt inſtructors, gave place to Coligny, Coligny to La Noue, La Noue to Mornay, Mornay to Sully, &c. Every one of theſe were equally remarkable for their virtues, as well as their talents, and

by

by theſe was he attended, as we may ſay from his cradle to his tomb. Mornay was at the ſame time ſecretary of ſtate to Henry, ſuper-intendant of finances, lieutenant of his armies, his ambaſſador, his librarian, and his firſt miniſter, whilſt he was king of Navarre. He has had the advantage to be recorded by the author of the Henriade, who at firſt intended to have made Sully, the ſecond hero of his poem:

" *De tous ſes favoris, Mornay Seul l'accompagne,*
" *Mornay ſon confident, mais jamais ſon flatteur;*
" *Trop vertueux ſoutien du parti de l'erreur:*
" * * * * * * * * * * * * *
" *Cenſeur des Courtiſans mais a la Cour aimé;*
" *Fier ennemi de Rome, & de Rome eſtimé.*"

" Dupleſſis Mornay," ſays Voltaire, " was " the beſt, as well as the greateſt man of the " Proteſtant party. He underſtood Greek " and Latin perfectly well, and as much of " the Hebrew as can be learnt. He ſerved " both his religion and his maſter equally " with his pen and his ſword. His letters are " ſaid to be written with great ſenſe and " energy. They called him the Huguenot " Pope, a title which greatly increaſed the " value of his books on controverſy. His " memoirs, which alone remain at this time, " are full of ſpeeches, manifeſtos and inſtruc-" tions, to ambaſſadors, &c. which will af-" ford entertainment to thoſe who wiſh to " examine into the hiſtory of thoſe times."

NOTE (22). *D'Aubigny's Hiſtory*, p. 15.—Daubigny, groom of the bed-chamber to Henry IV. is one of thoſe perſons who did the greateſt honour to the reign of this prince, as well by his valour as his talents. Henry entreated him to write the hiſtory of thoſe times, and promiſed him a conſiderable ſum of money to pay the expences of his journies to diſtant places, which he ought to ſee, in order to be more exact in his accounts of the ſieges they had ſuſtained; and to draw plans, &c. His maſter's death in part defeated his purpoſe, he was obliged to quit his country, and this hiſtory was not publiſhed till ſix years after at Geneva, which was become the aſylum of liberty, as D'Aubigny himſelf tells us in his preface. This preface is ſaid to be worthy of Tacitus, if not in the ſtyle, which is rather high flown, at leaſt for the boldneſs and grandeur of the ideas, we ſhall here give a ſpecimen of it. "I begin this work at the time "of Henry the Fourth's birth, juſtly ſurnamed "Henry the Great. I have dedicated it to "no one in particular, but to poſterity. My "deſign ſhall extend as long as I have life "and ability. I ſhall make no excuſes either "through hope or fear, more taken up with "reſtraining the liberty of my pen, than to "guard it againſt flattering, brought up at "the feet of my king, which ſerved me for "a pillow in all the times of our troubles; "ſometimes received as his only friend and "companion, and at others diſtanced from "him, and from court, by my native blunt-"neſs and ſincerity; yet even then ſo faith-

"fully

" fully attached to him, that at the very time " of my diſgrace, he confided to me the moſt " important ſecrets," &c.

It is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh in this writer the hiſtorian from the ſatireſt, highly to be praiſed as the one, and equally blameable as the other His *Confeſſion de Sancy* is an atrocious libel, and void of ſenſe, againſt a man who was at leaſt equal to Daubigny, by the great ſervices he had done to his country. His *Secret Memoirs* contain only a chain of boaſtings, and of pretended and atrocious facts, which cannot be read without contempt and indignation. This is the opinion of St. Foix *, whom it would be very eaſy to ſupport by inconteſtible proofs, but the diſcuſſion would lead us too far, and therefore we ſhall ſpeak more of Daubigny in the account of illuſtrious men in the reign of Henry IV.

NOTE (23.) *Armand, firſt Marſchal de Biron*, p. 15.—He had been brought up as a page to the queen of Navarre, grandmother to Henry IV. who was a princeſs of great merit, and who took delight in giving young Biron an excellent education. He became one of the greateſt men of the age. He thoroughly underſtood hiſtory and geography. No one could be more expert than he was in drawing plans and fortifications, which he ſaid ought to be one of the firſt parts of generalſhip. He was perfect maſter of Greek and Latin, and his mind

* Hiſtoire de l'Ordre du St. Eſprit, Tom. II. p. 211, & 251.

mind was well ſtored, as he gave all his leiſure hours, which could be ſpared from the tumult of war and other affairs, to reading and ſtudy. It appears that we cenſure with rather too much levity an age and an education which could produce ſuch men. "From his "earlieſt age," ſays Brantome, "he was "curious to enquire after, and learn every "thing; ſo much ſo, that he commonly car-"ried tablets about him, and whatever he "ſaw or heard, which was worth notice, he "wrote in theſe tablets: ſo that it became a "kind of proverb at court, when any thing "remarkable was mentioned, *Oh, you had that "from Biron's tablets!*" Hommes Illuſtres, Tom. IX. p. 152.

Biron deſerved the ſame praiſe which was afterwards beſtowed on Catinat, that he was as good a Chancellor as he was a General.—He preſided at the council in the king's abſence; he was even truſted with the ſeals for near a twelvemonth. He received his death from a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Epernai, in 1592. *The king expreſſed more concern for his death, than he had ever done for any one before.* Buri. Tom. II. p. 176. This illuſtrious man alſo wrote his Commentaries, which De Thou laments were not preſerved.

NOTE (24.) p. 15.

"*Turenne qui depuis de la jeune Bouillon,*
"*Mérita dans Sedan la puiſſance & le nom.*"
HENRIADE.

Henry

Henry, viſcount of Turenne, had naturally a very fine underſtanding; but Madame de Montmorency, his maternal grandmother, who was very devout and very ignorant, ordered his preceptor to be ſent away from him, becauſe he ſhewed too great an inclination for ſtudying the Belles Lettres. She apprehended, that whilſt he was endeavouring to gain knowledge, he might become a Calviniſt, which at that time was called the religion of the wiſe and learned. Her huſband the Conſtable, who could not read himſelf, acquieſced in this matter with the fears and ſcruples of his wife. Voy. l'Hiſt. du Duc de Bouillon, par Marſolier, Tom. I. p. 7. Turenne cruelly diſappointed their hopes; he not only cultivated letters, but he became a Proteſtant. He very early attached himſelf to Henry IV. at that time king of Navarre. Companion in his dangers, as well as ſharer of his pleaſures and his glories, the conformity of their ages, their opinions, and their religion, very ſoon united them in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. Henry treated Turenne as if he had been his brother, and gave him afterwards the ſtrongeſt proofs of his affection. In the year 1579, Turenne was ſtabbed in twenty-two places with a ſword. Catherine de Medicis was ſuſpected of having had a part in this ſhocking attempt. She went to Agen, on purpoſe to vindicate herſelf. Henry reproached her in the bittereſt terms. The queen, in order to calm him, offered herſelf to take care of the viſcount's wounds: "No, Madam," ſaid Henry, "I "will truſt no one but myſelf with the care

"of

" of a perſon ſo dear to me:" and the ſame day Henry conducted his wounded friend in a litter to Nerac, where he continued with him till he was nearly recovered. Voy. l'Hiſt. du Duc de Bouillon, par Marſolier, Tom. I. p. 270.

This prince was no ſooner become king of France, than he made him eſpouſe the greateſt fortune in Europe, who was ſought after by many ſovereign princes, the heireſs of Sedan and Bouillon. The ſame night of his nuptials, Turenne tore himſelf away from his bride, and went to take the town of Stenay. " Ventre Saint Gris," ſaid the king, " I " ſhould like to have ſuch weddings often; " and I ſhould very ſoon be completely maſter " of my kingdom, if all bridegrooms acted ſo " nobly on the day of their marriage." Vie de Hen. IV. par Bury, Tom. II. p. 123, 124. Two years after this, the king made him a duke, maréchal, and peer of France; he had ſome difficulty in getting the Parliament to receive him, on account of his religion. De Thou gave it as his opinion, that it was not an affair of religion; that he was not to be received as a doctor of divinity, but as a maréchal of France; and that the duke de Bouillon had given noble proofs of his valour. Henry IV. added, " That though the duke " did not go to maſs, he regarded him as the " very beſt man in his kingdom." Voy. de Thou, ſous l'année 1594. & Journ. de Hen. IV. Tom. II. p. 116.

Bouillon, in his new principality, ſhewed himſelf an enlightened protector of the learned.

He

He eſtabliſhed a kind of academy at Sedan, with the view of drawing thither the young Proteſtant nobility from those Countries, Germany and France, where they might learn languages, and all arts and ſciences neceſſary to form a military man. This ſchool ſoon became celebrated; and the duke collected a very fine library there, as well for the uſe of the maſters, as the inſtruction of the ſcholars. In 1609 he wrote memoirs of his life, which are curious, and in a ſtyle chaſte enough, conſidering the age in which it was written. Only the firſt part of it has been publiſhed, which terminates the year 1586, and which, by the intereſting detail it affords, makes us regret not having the reſt. Voy. Hiſt. du Duc de Bouillon, Tom. III. p. 281—290. & ſes Memoires, imprim. a Paris, en 1666. Hiſtory reproaches the duke de Bouillon with his conduct and plots againſt his friend and benefactor; but let us not dwell too much on his faults—he was the father of Turenne!

Note (25.) *Lesdiguyeres*, p. 15.—The moſt able perhaps, and, above all, the moſt ſucceſsful of Henry the Fourth's generals. He was originally deſigned for the Robe; but being diſguſted with the chicanery of the law, he quitted his pen for a ſword, and retained nothing of his former profeſſion but the love of letters and ſtudy, both which he purſued even in the tumult of arms. He had a curious library, which was collected for him by Calignon, his friend and countryman. Leſdiguyeres gained many victories, and never was once

once beat. The haughty and ignorant Conſtable, ſpeaking of him one day, took it in his head to call him by way of deriſion the *Counſellor:* "If the king," ſaid an officer who ſtood by, "had many ſuch counſellors, he "would ſoon gain all his cauſes." The life of this general is thick ſown with extraordinary and intereſting incidents, and as well deſerves a place in the liſt of illuſtrious men under the reign of Henry IV. as does La Noue, d'Aubigny, Biron, Mornay, &c. &c. not only with regard to their writings, or their attachment to their king, but for the encouragement of letters, in which they were all united.

NOTE (26.) *Sully*, p. 15.—It is to the honour of letters, not of Sully, that we mention this miniſter's having made verſes, for in this article we muſt own it neceſſary to confine our applauſe to his good intentions. He compoſed a long poem, which drew a compariſon between Henry and Cæſar, and was tranſlated into Latin by Nicholas Bourbon. His Adieus to the Court are well known:

"*Adieu Maiſons, chateaux, armes, canons du*
"*Roi:*
" * * * * * * *
"*Adieu faveurs, grandeurs, adieu le tems qui*
"*court:*
"*Adieu les amitiés & les amis de cour:*
" * * * * * * *
"*Permettez que chez moi en toute liberté*

Je

" *Je regrette mon Roi, non aſſez regretté;*
" *Adieu, ſoins de l'etat, amour de ma patrie:*"

When at the end, he finiſhes by a prayer worthy an Ariſtides:

" *Je me retire,*" ſays he,
" *Suppliant ce grand Dieu qu'encore un jour le*
" *Roi,*
" *La France, ni l'etat n'ayent beſoin de moi.*"

Theſe verſes may be compared with thoſe of Cicero,

" *Oh fortunatam natam, me conſule Romam,* &c."

Dauvigny * ſaid ſeriouſly, when Sully's poems were read, it was neceſſary to remember the author was a duke, and peer of the realm. He certainly had never read thoſe of M. de Nivernois. But what is much more intereſting to know than Sully's verſes, is, that he intended to write the life of Henry IV. that there is actually an abridgment of it at this time, which is only a ſhort ſketch †; and that we ſhould univerſally regret its not being finiſhed, if in his Memoirs, though badly put together, he had not given us the beſt and moſt inſtructive hiſtory of his friend ‡. It would be

* Vie de Sully, p. 383.

† Cet abrege eſt imprime a la p. 512. & ſuiv. du premiere vol. des veritables Memoires de Sully.

‡ Perefixe is indeed pleaſing, but too ſuperficial; Bury, more learned, is prolix and languid; Daniel, cold and dry, &c. &c. The moſt diſtinguiſhed writer, to whom we owe the hiſtories of the maréchal de Luxembourg, the great Condé, and the Houſe of Bourbon, is M. Deformeaux, not leſs dear to his friends by

be eaſy to prove, was it neceſſary, that theſe are really Memoirs written by himſelf; but we ſhall content ourſelves at this time with referring to the diſſertations of M. l'Eveque de Ravalliere, au 21 vol. des Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, p. 541. & ſuiv. Sully wrote every day the reſult of all that paſſed of importance in his department, and mixed all together, his vouchers, memoirs, tables of finances, ſtates, ſecret negociations, ſchemes, affairs to lay before council, letters, converſations with the king, &c. &c. In ſhort, his *Oeconomies Royales* are nothing more than an account given to the nation, and to poſterity, of the adminiſtration of this great miniſter. It might certainly have been better put together; but it was reſerved to the preſent age to ſee a miniſter of ſtate unite to the noble ideas and talents of a Sully, the pen and genius of a Monteſquieu. Sully, after the death of his friend and maſter, was afraid of being diſliked; and, to avoid giving offence, expreſſed his ſentiments by the pen of his ſecretaries, who were only imaginary perſons. This diſagreeable and dull change threw a languor and obſcurity, as well as confuſion, through his writings; but it was ſtill his own work. He ſometimes betrayed himſelf; as in p. 145 of the firſt volume, where may be read this title: " Memoirs of important things

" which

by his amiable and gentle manners, than eſteemed by the public for his genius and talents. He is going to give us a new Hiſtory of Henry IV. who at laſt will have found an hiſtorian worthy to record his noble actions.

" which happened to me this day, the 15th " Feb. 1593." And in another place, in the ſame volume, p. 440, and Vol. III. p. 385, &c. theſe fictitious ſecretaries quote the " *Grandes* " *Memoires de ſa vie écrits en forme de Jour-* " *nal* *," and others of the ſame nature, entirely written by himſelf, and ſcratched through with his own pen, containing long converſations which he held with the king when no other perſon was preſent, &c. In bringing theſe letters and verſes to light, which undoubtedly were in Sully's own writing, we eaſily perceive that the remainder comes from the ſame pen, and is only defective in its form. With great ſenſe and knowledge, this miniſter, whoſe head was full of buſineſs and ſtate affairs, wrote in an obſcure, tedious, and unconnected manner. Even his letters ſeem to be diſagreeably laboured, and are difficult to underſtand. They are by no means equal in ſtyle to thoſe of Mornay or d'Oſſat, or even thoſe of Villeroy; and when compared to thoſe of Henry IV. on the ſame ſubjects, the difference is aſtoniſhing. However, if we a.e at firſt ſtruck with the faults of his ſtyle, we are completely made amends by the

* Sully began early in youth to write memoirs of his life. Voy. ſon Epitre Liminaire, du 3 vol. Beſides his Abridgment of the Life of Henry IV. his Parallel de Cæſar & de Henri le Grand, and his Adieux à la Cour, he wrote a Treatiſe on War, another on the Duty of a Field Marſhal, and Inſtructions to the Police and Militia, which were never publiſhed. Voy. ſes Mem. Tom. I. p. 411.

the inſtruction and effects we may draw from it. They have endeavoured to give theſe Memoirs a more elegant form; but it is no longer the work of Sully. I ſhould juſt as ſoon chooſe a modern painter ſhould dreſs his pictures in the garb of a French *petit maitre*; or they might as well think of putting Montaigne's works into finer language, or of giving more wit to Corneille!

NOTE (27). *Charles de Coſſé, Marechal de Briſſac*, p. 15.—He had a moſt ſingular way of thinking, was of a romantic genius, and well ſuited to the ages of chivalry. In his chimeras of grandeur and elevation, it was ſaid, he had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing France into a republic. His imagination was heated at the idea, he wanted to form it on the model of ancient Rome, the hiſtory of which he frequently read: but it was too great an undertaking for Briſſac, and required other times and other manners, Romans were wanted with a Brutus at their head, and he very ſoon found the impoſſibility of ſuch an event taking place, "And this project," ſays Sully, "did "nothing more than enter into his head." Voy. Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. p. 196, Journ. de Henry IV. nouv. edition, Tom. I. p. 458. Tired with the tyranny of the Spaniards, whom he had ſerved for a long time, he at length opened the gates of Paris to Henry IV. the 22d of March, 1594.

NOTE (28). *Anne d'Anglure, Baron de Givry* p. 15.—All the hiſtorians of his time are full

of the elogiums which were really due to this great man, on account of his bravery and his underſtanding. Henry IV. loved him ſo tenderly, that many of his brother officers were jealous of him. We have already given the charming letter which that monarch wrote to him. Givry never paſſed a day, even in camp, without devoting ſome hours to the ſtudy of hiſtory, mathematics and politics. "D'Aubigny relates that it was ſaid of Givry," "He was the maſter piece of nature, for per-"ſonal beauty, ſenſe and courage." Hiſtoire Univerſelle, Tom. III. p. 474, & Hiſtoire de Blois, per Bernier, p. 502. He was killed in the flower of his age by a muſquet ſhot, and even foreigners who had known him were grieved at his death. Mezerai ſays, he was actually the moſt accompliſhed cavalier belonging to the court, not only for his heroic bravery, but for his knowledge of the Belles Lettres, and for his wit and gallantry; a fit of deſpair occaſioned by the infidelity of a noble lady, with whom he was in love, threw him frequently into great dangers, in one of which he met with the fate he had wiſhed. Abregé Chron. Tom. IV. p. 118. We cannot refuſe ourſelves the pleaſure of repeating the elogium which de Thou has written on the ſubject of Givry, whom he was proud of calling his relation, as well as his friend. "His death," ſays this hiſtorian, "afflicted "the whole army, and particularly the king, "who ſaw a young man periſh in the flower "of his age, of an illuſtrious family, poſſeſſed "of perſonal beauty, of great wit, perfectly

"acquainted

" acquainted with Greek, Latin, and other " languages, as well as mathematics, and en- " dowed with every virtue and talent proper " to form a good ſoldier, prudent and diligent, " in a word, one who made the moſt haſty " ſtrides towards gaining the higheſt employ- " ments in the kingdom." Hiſtoire Univerſelle ſous L'Annee 1594.

NOTE (29). *D'Angennes de Rambouillet*, p 15. —There were eight brothers of them, who each diſtinguiſhed himſelf for learning, negociations, and arms, not one of them entered into the league, which at that unhappy time was a very ſingular circumſtance. De Thou is laviſh in their praiſes. Voy. Tom. X. del Edit in 4to. p. 406, 536, 544. Tom. XI. p. 67, 199, & Paſſim. " One of theſe " brothers, ſurnamed de Poigny, had made " a collection of ſcarce books and curious " pictures, at his caſtle of Boiſorcan in Bre- " tagne; the duke de Mercœur, ordered them " to be burnt, as a chriſtian, he ſaid, M. de " Poigny delayed not to take his revenge, " and immediately publiſhed a little book, " which was entitled *the Exerciſe of a Chriſ- " tian*, by M. de Mercœur, and in it was " given an account of his ingratitude to " Henry III. his king, his benefactor, and " his brother-in-law: his aſſaſſination of the " count de Fontaines, &c. and other actions " of the ſame nature." Hiſtoire de l'Ordre du ſaint eſprit, Tom II. p. 81.

NOTE (30). *Vivonne (Jean de) Marquis de Piſani*, p. 15.—Piſani, had written memoirs and journals of his embaſſies, which de Thou, a friend to every man of merit, declares to have made uſe of in order to rectify ſome errors which leſs faithful memorialiſts had fallen into. The great knowledge he had acquired, and his reputation for virtue, cauſed Henry IV. to make choice of him as governor to the young prince of Condé, at that time preſumptive heir to the crown.

NOTE (31). *Salignac (Bertrand de) Baron de le Mothe Fenelon*, p. 15.—We have from this illuſtrious man, a hiſtory of the ſiege of Metz, travels, memoirs, and negociations, which may be found in the Bibliotheque Hiſtorique of France. It was he, that being ambaſſador in England, refuſed to excuſe, before queen Elizabeth, the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew. He had a tender, ſenſible heart, his converſation was pleaſing and inſtructive. The love of truth and virtue ſhone equally in his writings and his conduct. In one word, he was the great uncle of the immortal Fenelon. Proſper Marchand, in his dictionary, article *Salignac*, reckons eight of the family who were men of learning. This taſte for letters ſeems hereditary, for to Marchand's liſt may be added the marquis de Fenelon, nephew to the illuſtrious arch-biſhop of Cambray, who has written the tragedy of Alexander, &c. &c.

NOTE (32). *Bertaud*, p. 15.—Henry IV. fixed Bertaud at court by naming him high almoner

almoner to the queen, he afterwards made him biſhop of Séez, and joined to it an abbey, which was given him as much to reward his talents as to recompence him for the ſervices he had rendered this prince during the troubles of the league. Bertaut being of a mild and gentle diſpoſition had no ſhare in the fury of that age, he began with ſacrificing to the taſte of the times, and wrote ſome verſes in the ſtyle of Ronzard, but he very ſoon found out his error:

" *Ce poete orgueilleux, trebuché de ſi haut,*
" *Rendit plus retenus deſportes & Bertaut.*"

BOILEAU.

Some verſes of a pleaſing and eaſy turn have ſaved him from being forgotten: being endowed with a tenderneſs and extreme ſenſibility of heart, it had contributed to give more ſoftneſs and naiveté to his pen, and of all the French poets who preceded him, Malherbe gives the preference to Bertaut. His ſtanzas frequently run ſmoothly, their eaſe and mildneſs, ſometimes form their only merit, as in theſe following, where the poet according to cuſtom, ſwears never to love again, but preſently repeats his oaths:

" Non non ne tuons point un ſi plaiſant ſouci,
" Rien n'eſt doux ſans amour en cette vie humaine;
" Ceux qui ceſſent d'aimer, ceſſent de vivre auſſi
" On vivent ſans plaiſir, comme ils vivent ſans peine.

 " Tous

" Tous les ſoucis humains ſont pure vanité
" D'Ignorance and d'Erreur toute la terre abonde
" Et conſtamment aimer une rare beaute
" C'eſt la plus douce erreur des vanites du monde."

Theſe following verſes will be remembered as long as the language exiſts.

" Felicité paſſée,
" Qui ne peut, revenir!
" Tourment de ma penſée!
" Que n'ai je en te perdant perdu le ſouvenir!"

M. M. de Port Royal, ſtruck with the beauty of theſe lines, but vexed that an unlawful amour had occaſioned them, cauſed them to be put into the mouth of the unfortunate Job; and placed it as an ornament to their Commentary on the Bible. Bertaud was not ſo lucky in his ſtanzas on the death of Henry IV.

" Les grandes douleurs ſont muettes," ſaid he,
" Las! il ne faut que moi pour en ſervir de preuve
" Car quand avec la France aujourd'hui triſte et veuve,
" Je me veux tout eſpandre en lamentables cris;
" Soudain le diſcours manque à mon ame oppreſſée
" Et la juſte douleur ravit à ma penſée
" Ce que l'affection promet à mes écrits.

" Oh

" Oh grand Roi le ſupport des lettres, and des armes
" Reſte plutot non plaint que plaint d'indignes larmes,
" * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
" Auſſi bien Apollon n'anime plus ma veine
" Comme il faiſoit du tems que la docte neuvaine
" Donnoit vol a ma plume en un age plus doux."

This author ſo pleaſing in his poetry, was not ſo in his proſe writings, therefore we ſhall neither ſpeak of the funeral oration he made on Henry IV. nor various treatiſes on controverſy which are now totally forgot. Four lines of verſe, written by Bertaud, were worth more than his whole collection of proſe altogether. This admirable poet only ſurvived his hero a twelvemonth.

NOTE (33). *Regnier*, p. 15.—Regnier was one of the poets who received favours from Henry IV. and who could beſt prove the degree with which this prince honoured and protected letters. He gave him ſeveral benefices, and in 1600 added to them a penſion of two thouſand livres, which his uncle Deſportes had had from the Abbey of Vauxcernay. He alſo, as well as Malherbe, had ſometimes the honour to devote his pen to this prince. There are in his works two elegies, in which he diſplays the elegance and graces of this kind of poetry, in order to charm ſome new beauty. There is more ſentiment and delicacy in theſe, than in the other pieces written

by Regnier, we muſt alſo deſcribe the ſatires of this poet, but ſhall confine ourſelves to the *Deux Diſcours*, which he addreſſed to Henry IV.* and which in moſt reſpects are worthy of the hero, to whom they pay homage. The following is taken from the firſt:

" Puiſſant Roi des français, aſtre vivant de Mars,
" Dont le juſte labeur ſur montant les haſards;
" Fait voir par ſes vertus que la grandeur de France,
" Ne pouvoit ſuccomber ſous une autre vaillance;
" Vrai fils de la valeur,
" Puiſſes tu, comme anguſte admirable en tes faits,
" Rouller des jours heureux, en une heureuſe paix."

But the liberty which poets are apt to take when they celebrate any great character, ought alſo to have its limits, and the flattery with which this author has addreſſed Henry in the following lines will be found to exceed all bounds:

" Auſſi plus grand, qu' Enée et plus vaillant qu' Achille,
" Tu ſurpaſſes l'eſprit d'Homère et de Virgile."

Deſpreaux has much better ſaid:

" Pour chanter un Auguſte, il faut etre un Virgile."

Regnier

* Boileau, as well as Renier, has alſo given the title of *Diſcours au Roy*, to the firſt of his ſatires and epiſtles.

Regnier thus finiſhes his poem:

" Je ſonde ma portée & me tate le pouls,
" Afin que s'il advient comme un jour je l'eſpere,
" Que parnaſſe m'adopte, & ſe diſe mon pere;
" Emporté de ta gloire & de tes faits guerriers,
" Je plante mon lierre au pied de tes lauriers."

In the ſecond part of this work the poet celebrates the noble actions of Henry IV. and his ſtyle riſes with his ſubject. He congratulates him with having quelled the league, and put an end to the civil war; and this is written in the elevated language of an epic poem, he perſonifies the league as a monſter, and deſcribes France as a diſconſolate nymph flying to heaven, and makes her addreſs her country men in theſe words:

" Peuple, l'objet piteux du reſte de la terre,
" Indocile à la paix et trop chaud à la guerre,
" Qui, fecond en partis et leger en deſſeins,
" Dedans ton propre ſang, ſouilles tes propres mains,
" Entends ce que je dis, attentif à ma bouche,
" Et qu'au plus vif du cœur ma parole te touche.
" Depuis qu'irrévérent envers les immortels,
" Tu taches de mepris l'égliſe et ſes autels,
" Qu'au lieu de la raiſon gouverne l'inſolence
" Que le droit altéré n'eſt qu'une violence,
" Que par force le foible eſt foulé du puiſſant,
" Que la ruſe ravit le bien á l'innocent;

" Et que la vertu ſainte en public mépriſée,
" Sert aux jeunes de maſque aux plus vieux de riſée,
" (Prodige monſtrueux!) & ſans reſpect de foi,
" Qu'on s'arme ingratement au mepris de ſon roi;
" La juſtice et la paix, triſtes et deſolées,
" D'horreur ſe retirant, au ciel ſe ſont volées."

The poet concludes with this affecting prayer:

" Henri le cher ſujet de nos ſaintes priéres,
" Que le ciel reſervoit à nos peines dernieres;
" * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
" Aprês tant de combats et d'heureuſes victoires,
" Miracles de mon temps honneur de nos hiſtoires,
" Dans le port de la paix grand prince, puiſſes tu
" Malgré tes ennemis, exercer ta vertu:
" Puiſſe être à ta grandeur le deſtin ſi propice,
" Que ton Cœur de leurs traits rebouche la malice;
" Et s'armant contre toi puiſſes tu, d'autant plus,
" De leurs efforts dompter le flus et le reflus;
" Et comme un ſaint rocher oppoſant ton courage,
" En écume venteuſe en diſſiper l'orage;
" Et brave, t'elevant au-deſſus des dangers,
" Etre l'amour des tiens, l'effroi des Etrangers:
" Attendant que ton fils, inſtruit par ta vaillance,
" Deſſous tes etendarts ſortant de ſon enfance,
" Plus fortuné que toi, mais non pas plus vaillant,
" Aille les ottomans, juſqu' au caire aſſaillant;
" Et que ſemblable à toi, foudroyant les armées,
" Il cueille avec le fer les palmes idumées."

This

This plainly ſhews that Regnier, as he proceeded, raiſed his language, and wrote with greater boldneſs and energy. This poet paid homage to the king in the collection of poems he wrote. Gratitude, he ſaid, put the pen into his hand. He compared himſelf to the ſtatue of Memnon, which uttered an harmonious ſound, every time the riſing ſun beamed on the image. This is a noble, as well as a beautiful idea.

NOTE (34). *Deſportes*, p. 16.—Deſportes was the moſt gallant, the moſt agreeable, and the moſt ſucceſsful poet of his time. He was called the French Tibullus, a name which has ſince been laviſhed on many. The family of Valois loaded him with favours, and even offered him the biſhopric of Bourdeaux, which he refuſed. After Henry the Third's death, he joined with the League; but ſoon diſcovering the great qualities of Henry IV. he repented it, and uſed every means in his power to bring back his friend Admiral Villars, and in ſhort all Normandy, to their duty, in which he happily ſucceeded. Henry IV. honoured him with his eſteem, and even his friendſhip, and reſtored to him his rich benefices which had been ſeized, and would have given him the archbiſhopric of Rouen. See Memoirs of Sully, Vol. I. p. 244. and Hiſt. of Henry IV. by Bury, Vol. II. p. 354, & 361. Deſportes made the moſt noble uſe of his fortune: his houſe was the rendezvous of men of letters. His elegant and extenſive library was always open to thoſe who wiſhed for inſtruction, as was

alſo

alſo his purſe to thoſe whom fortune had favoured leſs than himſelf.

NOTE (35). *Des Yveteaux*, p. 16.—The favour of Gabrielle d'Eſtrees cauſed him to be appointed preceptor to Cæſar duke de Vendome her ſon, and he was afterwards made preceptor to the dauphin; for the king, who admired his underſtanding, made choice of him, notwithſtanding the queen was prejudiced againſt him, he having been deſcribed to her as a dangerous man, which ſhe the more readily believed, as ſhe knew him to be a favourite of the beautiful Gabrielle. It was Des Yveteaux who preſented his relation and countryman, Malherbe, to Henry IV. Soon after the death of this king, the queen took his place from him, and baniſhed him from court. His conduct was made the pretext; but the true reaſon was, on account of the means by which he had gained entrance there, and for ſpeaking his ſentiments too freely of the maréchal d'Ancre, (Journ. of Hen. IV. 1611, p. 77.) which was an unpardonable crime. He was much regretted by the young king his pupil. He lived forty years at a great diſtance from court, and found himſelf much happier by ſo doing; he reſumed his former eaſy way of life in the country, which he had quitted with regret. His pleaſing verſes, his mild philoſophic temper, and the tranquillity with which he looked forward to the grave, occaſioned this good old man's character to be aſperſed by a court, which at that time was ſo bigotted and ſo gloomy.

De

Des Yveteaux had not confined himſelf to writing verſes on gallantry. He had done more honour to his riper age, as well as juſtice to Henry's choice of him, by more ſerious as well as more uſeful works. His Treatiſe on the Education of a Prince, written for the uſe of his pupil, is juſtly admired for its ſenſe, preciſion, and energy, and contains moſt beautiful leſſons of Chriſtian and Heathen morality. They even breathe the ſeverity of a Stoic; and we may eaſily diſcover how well he knew his duty, and that he wiſhed to form the Man, before he completed the Prince. This philoſopher, whoſe mind was ſo gentle, and his manners ſo meek, could not but be the moſt proper perſon to teach, as well as to inſpire his pupil with the love of virtue.

NOTE (36.) *Malherbe*, p. 16.—Henry IV. one day aſked the Cardinal du Perron, "Why "he made no more verſes?"—"Sire," anſwered the prelate, "I muſt meddle no more "with poetry, ſince there is a gentleman of "Normandy, ſettled in Provence, who has "brought French poetry to ſuch excellence, "that no one elſe can ever reach it." He then mentioned Malherbe. The king was ſtruck with the name, and often ſpoke of Malherbe to his relation Des Yveteaux, the duke de Vendome's preceptor. Yet this poet did not come to court till ſome years after (in 1605) when he was fifty years of age. The king received him very graciouſly, and deſired him to make ſome verſes on the journey he was going to take to Limoſin. Malherbe made

made thoſe ſtanzas which begin in this manner:

" O Dieu, dont les bontés de nos larmes touchées,
" Ont aux vaines fureurs les armes arrachées,
" Et rangé l'inſolence aux pieds de la raiſon,
" Acheve ton ouvrage," &c.

You alſo read there theſe beautiful lines:

" Quand un roi fainéant, la vergogne des princes,
" Laiſſant à ſes flatteurs le ſoin de ſes provinces,
" Entre les voluptés indignement s'endort,
" Quoique l'on diſſimule, on en fait peu d'eſtime,
" Et ſi la verité peut ſe dire ſans crime,
" C'eſt avec que plaiſir qu'on ſervit à ſa mort.
" Mais le roi des bons rois, l'eternel exemplaire,
" Qui de notre ſalut eſt l'ange tutélaire,
" L'infaillible refuge et l'aſſuré ſecours,
" Son extreme douceur ayant dompté l'envie
" De quels jours aſſez longs peut il borner la vie
" Que notre affection ne les juge trop courts," &c.

Henry was ſo well pleaſed with theſe verſes, that he deſired to retain the author in his ſervice; and till he was placed on the liſt of his penſioners, he ordered his Maſter of the Horſe to take him into his houſe. He had a table provided for him, and a penſion of a thouſand livres; and, a ſhort time after, the monarch gratified him with the place of Gentleman of his Chamber, a title that Racine and Voltaire afterwards had. An unfortunate man * having

* His name was Liſle, an attorney at Senlis, in 1605. He was inſane, and the king pardoned him.

ing attempted the king's life, Malherbe on this occaſion became interpreter of France, and made this beautiful ode:

" Que direz vous, races futures,
" Si quelquefois un vrai diſcours,
" Vous recite les aventures,
" De nos abominables jours,
" Lirez vous, ſans rougir de honte,
" Que notre impiété ſurmonte,
" Les faits les plus audacieux
" Et les plus digne du tonnere,
" Que firent jamais à la terre
" Sentir la colère des cieux.

" Quelles preuves incomparables
" Peut donner un prince de ſoi,
" Que les rois les plus adorables
" N'en quittent l'honneur a mon roi?
" Quelle terre n'eſt parfumée,
" Des odeurs de ſa renommée,
" Et qui peut nier qu'apres Dieu,
" Sa gloire qui n'a point d'exemples,
" N'ait merité que dans nos temples
" On lui donne le ſecond lieu.

" Qui ne ſcait point qu' á ſa vaillance,
" Il ne ſe peut rien ajouter,
" Qu'on reçoit de ſa bienveillance
" Tout ce qu'on en doit ſouhaiter,
" Et que ſi de cette couronne,
" Que ſa tige illuſtre lui donne,

" Les

" Les loix ne l'euſſent revétu,
" Nos peuples, d'un juſte ſuffrage,
" Ne pouvoient, ſans faire naufrage,
" Ne l'offrir point à ſa vertu.

" Toutefois ingrats que nous ſommes,
" Barbare et denaturés ;
" Toujours nous aſſaillons ſa tête,
" De quelque nouvelle tempête," &c.

The king often honoured Malherbe with private converſations. The poet celebrated the principal events of his reign ; he even frequently lent him his pen, and we have ſtill ſome verſes of Malherbe's written in the name of the great Alcander. It has been matter of wonder, that Henry did not do more for this maſter of French poetry ; and it is with regret that we confeſs Sully was the cauſe of it: ſo true it is, that the greateſt men are not always above the meanneſs of ſelf-love. During the wars of the League, Malherbe, who carried arms in that party, purſued Sully very briſkly for the ſpace of two leagues, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he ſaved himſelf. When he became miniſter, he did not look with a favourable eye on the poet's reception at court ; he therefore retarded the monarch's favours to him : and it was not till after Henry's death, and Sully's retreat, that Mary of Medicis gave him a penſion of fifteen hundred crowns. See the Life of Malherbe, at the beginning of his works. Malherbe performed the ſame part in the court of Henry

Henry IV. that Deſpreaux has ſince done in that of Lewis XIV. He ſeverely criticiſed bad poetry, and blamed, without any reſpect to perſons, works which had been admired. Of all the French poets, he eſteemed none but Bertaud. He was very jealous of the honour and purity of his own language: he ſaid ſometimes, laughing, that he worked hard to teach the court good French. He did not even ſpare princes; they therefore called him the tyrant of words and ſyllables. The king one day ſhewing him the firſt letter, the dauphin, ſince Lewis XIII. had written to him, "How!" ſaid Malherbe, "does the "dauphin call himſelf *Loys?*" for ſo the letter was ſigned. Henry ſent immediately for the perſon who taught the young prince to write, and deſired that he might be made to ſpell his name better. On this account, Malherbe was told jokingly, that it was he who had cauſed the ſucceſſor of Henry IV. to know his own name. Malherbe, ſtruck as all good Frenchmen were, with the unlooked-for blow which took from them the beſt of kings, gave vent to his juſt grief in ſtanzas which begin thus:

"Enfin l'ire du ciel et ſa fatale envie,
"Dont j'avois repouſsé tant d'injuſtes efforts,
"Ont detruit ma fortune, & ſans m'oter la vie,
"M'ont mis entre les morts.
"Henri, ce grand Henri, que les ſoins de nature
"Avoient fait un miracle aux yeux de l'univers,
"Comme un homme vulgaire eſt dans la ſépulture
"A la merci des vers.

"Belle

" Belle ame, beau patron des celeſtes ouvrages,
" Qui fut de mon eſpoir l'infaillible recours;
" Quelle nuit fut pareille aux funeſtes ombrages
" Ou tu laiſſes mes jours.

" C'eſt bien à tout le monde une commune plaie,
" Et le malheur que jai, chacun l'eſtime ſien;
" Mais en quel autre cœur eſt la douleur ſi vraie,
" Comme il eſt dans le mien?" &c.

NOTE (37). *Arnaud, Cardinal d'Oſſat*, p. 16. —Being deſcended from no family of note, owed his elevation ſolely to his merit; and, divided between the ſtudy of law and letters, he was only an humble abbé, when Henry named him his ambaſſador to Rome: the biſhopric of Rennes, and the cardinal's hat, were the rewards of his ſervices. His letters have been collected by Amelot de la Houſſaye: they were long called the Political Breviary. " You may obſerve in them," ſaid the judicious author of l'Eſprit de la Ligue, " a poli-" tician full of integrity, in a ſtyle firm and " nervous; they breathe honeſty, candour, " and the moſt lively zeal for the king and " his country." This man, as modeſt as he was virtuous, will be more particularly mentioned in the account of illuſtrious men in the reign of Henry IV.

NOTE (38). *Bongars*, p. 16. —Bongars was a Calviniſt, and early attached to the fortunes of Henry: he was employed in embaſſies for thirty years. His taſte led him to

to ſtudy, and he united in one perſon the ſtateſman and the man of learning. It was Bongars, who, being at Rome at the time of that celebrated Bull of Sixtus V. againſt the king of Navarre, whom he there declared an heretic, and his crown forfeited, made that bold anſwer, which aſtoniſhed the proud pontiff. He fixed up a paper himſelf in the field of Flora, and even on the doors of the Vatican, "That Sixtus the pretended pope lied, "and that he was himſelf an heretic," &c. It is well known what effect this bold proceeding had on the mind of Sixtus, and what eſteem he had from that time for a prince who in his misfortunes had ſuch friends, and who deſerved to be ſerved by them with ſo much zeal and fidelity. It was inclination alone, and not intereſt, that could ſuggeſt ſo raſh a proceeding to Bongars. Henry IV. who wiſhed to be beloved, was ſo well convinced of his ſentiments, that he afterwards truſted him with a part of his great deſigns to humble the Houſe of Auſtria, and reſtore peace to Europe. Bongars was negociating with the northern princes, when he heard the fatal death of this monarch, whom he did not ſurvive more than two years. His letters are thoſe of an excellent citizen; they breathe the language of the age of Auguſtus. The firſt part of them are devoted to politics; but the greateſt number to friendſhip. It is to Bongars that we are indebted for the collection entitled *Geſta Dei per Francos*, printed in 1611, where he has collected together a liſt of all the hiſtorians who had written on the ſubject

ject of the Cruſades. It was the firſt book of the kind, but has ſerved as a model for the numerous publications of Ducheſne and the Benedictines.

NOTE (39). *Le Fevre de la Boderie*, p. 16. —He began by cultivating letters and poetry, and employed his pen and his talents for Henry IV. one of whoſe beſt ſervants he was, during the madneſs of the League. Some people attributed to him the legate's Italian ſpeech in *la Satire Menippée*. Henry made him his ſteward, and ſent him afterwards on embaſſies to Rome, into the Low Countries, and to England. It was during his ſtay at Bruſſels, that he diſcovered Biron's correſpondence with Spain. It is reported, that when he left England, James I. preſented him with a gilt cup enriched with precious ſtones, with theſe words engraved upon it: "James, king of Great-Britain, to Antoine "de la Boderie." They ſay alſo, that to this preſent the monarch added 150 horſes, that la Boderie at his return diſtributed them amongſt his friends, and that he reſerved only one for himſelf, and that Henry aſked him for that one: "It is not juſt," ſaid this good prince, "that I ſhould be the only one of "your friends who do not partake of your "liberality." Dictionaire des Hom. Illuſt. La Boderie's Letters and Negociations are collected in ſeven volumes in 12mo.

NOTE

NOTE (40). *Du Bartas*, p 16.—Du Bartas ſhared the fate of Ronſard: he was too much exalted in his life-time, and too much debaſed afterwards. As a poet, his character is now cried down; and as a citizen, a good patriot, a ſoldier, and a negociator, he is perhaps but little known. Bred in camps, his life was devoted to his prince, whom he ſerved with his ſword, and celebrated in his verſes. This prince was Henry IV. then king of Navarre: he gave him the poſt of Gentleman of his Chamber, a company of foot, and employed him in his affairs in England, Denmark, and Scotland. King James would have retained him in his ſervice; Du Bartas told him, that he never would abandon either his country or his prince. "He was determined," ſays Sainte Marthe, "that he would not be reproached with having preferred the ſervice of a foreign prince to that of Henry of Bourbon his maſter, who loved him equally for his learning and valour, and for having neglected his own intereſt, at a time when the new triumphs of this victorious prince called on all the French poets to emulate each other in ſinging his praiſes." His poem of *la Semaine* was very ſucceſsful; in leſs than ſix years, it went through twenty editions, and was tranſlated into all languages. He alſo compoſed, at the entreaty of Jeanne d'Albret, another poem called *Judith*, of which this queen (who was alſo deſirous to deliver her country from oppreſſion) gave him the ſubject.

The

The poet ſeemed even then to foretell the glory of Henry, who was at that time ſcarce eighteen years old:

" Prince, daignes approcher, pan habite en nos
" bois:
" Nemepriſe ces rocs*; ces rocs ont autrefois
" Nourri ces grands heros, qu'à vaincre tu travailles.
" * * * * * * *
" Henri, l'unique effroi de la terre Heſpéride'
" Tu ne pourrois avoir plus grand ayeul qu'Alcide;
" Il ne pouvoit avoir plus grand neveu que toi.

He wiſhes alſo,

" Que le roi Navarrois généreux fils de mars,
" Mene boire bien tot dans l'Hebre ſes ſoldats:
" Qu' íl ſe faſſe Seigneur des provinces bornées
" Du flot des deux grands 'mers et des monts
" Pyrennées,
" Et qu'il voie à la fin par ſon glaive défaits
" Les tyrans de Maroc, de Tunis & de Fez."

Though his verſes were written in a pompous ſtyle, he was humble and modeſt in his manners; " an encomium the more remark-
" able," ſays De Thou, " as he was both a
" poet and a Gaſcon." He often complained that the hurry of war and buſineſs had not allowed him time to conſult the learned, and to poliſh his writings; with this deſign he was diſpoſing his affairs, in order to ſettle himſelf at Paris, when death ſurpriſed him in the 46th

* The Pyrénées, where Henry IV. was brought up.

46th year of his age. He had juſt celebrated the battle of Ivry, when an old wound broke out again, and in a few months carried him to the grave. See de Thou, 1590; et les addit. de Teſſier, Tom. II. p. 148, 149.

NOTE (41). *Phillippe de Canaye, Seigneur de Freſne*, p. 16.—"A great perſonage, and "one of the moſt learned and ſubtil men of "this age," ſays l'Etoile. He at firſt ſtudied the law with ſucceſs; but the new opinions he had embraced, and the misfortunes of his country, forced him to quit France. Henry, then king of Navarre, ſent for him back. Freſne Canaye poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree the powers of language; he was a good Frenchman, and deteſted the ambition of foreigners. The monarch truſted him with his deareſt concerns; ſent him ſucceſſively to all the courts of Europe, and raiſed him to the higheſt places in the law. His eloquence was ſcarcely to be reſiſted. He died in the month of February, 1610, "happy," ſaid his hiſtorian, "in having, by his own death, been ſpared "the ſenſible grief he would have felt at the "deteſtable murder of his prince." See his life at the beginning of his embaſſies, collected in three volumes folio.

NOTE (42). *Pierre de Belloy, Avocat*, p. 1[illegible]. —During the firſt ſiege of Paris, in the midſt of the cries of fanaticiſm, a citizen, till then unknown, ventured at the peril of his life to raiſe his voice in favour of his lawful prince. This bold Frenchman was Pierre de Belloy.

He cauſed to be publiſhed in the capital a catholic defence of the king of Navarre and Henry III. againſt the ſeditious libels of conſpirators. "If he had been a Proteſtant," ſays Bayle, "there would have been nothing "in it but what was very natural; but as he "was a Catholic, and at Paris, it ought to "be regarded with ſome kind of admiration." He publiſhed other learned writings to prove the right Henry IV. had to the crown: his works were treated as libels, and the author as a criminal; a cloſe priſon, where he was confined more than two years, was the reward of his zeal. As ſoon as Henry IV. made his entry into Paris, his firſt care was to ſet his virtuous defender at liberty, and his ſecond to give him the place of Avocat-General au Parlement de Toulouſe. You do not find in the writings of Belloy either bitterneſs or abuſe, but great order, a clear elevated ſtyle, without bombaſt; as alſo great and well digeſted knowledge. This writer perfectly ſaw through the plots of the Guiſes; he ſeemed to have divined them: this was the opinion of the author of l'Eſprit de la Ligue, who was an excellent judge in that matter. The time of this worthy and virtuous magiſtrate's death (who deſerves to be better known) we are ignorant of. He was one of thoſe whoſe enlightened patriotiſm, and heroic firmneſs, forgotten in the multitude of our hiſtorians, do the moſt honour to France, and whoſe example is the propereſt to reconcile royalty and learning. See the liſt of his works in the Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de la France.

NOTE

NOTE (43). *Pierre Pithou, Avocat*, p. 17. —The labours of Pithou, his diſcoveries, and his great learning, have given him a juſt title to the ſurname of *Varron of France*; but he is ſtill more reſpectable for the uſe he made of his talents and knowledge. Forced to live in the midſt of the rebellion, kept there by his wife, his children, and his books, thoſe dear objects from whom he feared to be ſeparated, his ſtay in Paris was not uſeleſs to his king. He wrote a pamphlet to prove that the biſhops of France could abſolve Henry IV. without the concurrence of Rome: it was ſingular enough, that the conqueror of Ivry ſhould be in want of abſolution! But as ridicule has more power over the mind than reaſon, Pithou rendered this monarch a more ſignal ſervice, by the part which he had in the ſatire *Menippée*, which is perhaps the moſt extraordinary work of that age; the joint production of many men of letters, all ſtrict friends of Pithou, and anxious as himſelf for the public good. (M. Groſley. See note 63.)

When the gates of the capital were opened to Henry IV. this prince choſe Pithou attorney-general of the intermediate Parliament. He employed him to eraſe from the records of the court all that the Leaguers had inſerted injurious to him and his predeceſſor, and to take away from the church the pictures, inſcriptions, and other monuments of the fury of this fanatic aſſociation; in ſhort, to endeavour to heal the wounds of the ſtate, and to remove from it, as dangerous weapons, every thing that could recall or nouriſh fanaticiſm,

ticiſm. The monarch often entertained Pithou familiarly in his cloſet, and would have given him other marks of his gratitude. This modeſt and diſintereſted man never ſpoke to him but of Troyes, which he always called his dear country, but which was ſtill in rebellion: the king granted their pardon at his requeſt, and, as it may be ſaid, entruſted his clemency to Pithou's diſcretion. At the ſame time this learned man wrote his treatiſe on the Liberties of the French Church, which was gratefully received by all good Frenchmen: the author dedicated it to Henry IV. by an epiſtle, ſays his hiſtorian, worthy the work it announced, the good citizen who wrote it, and the prince to whom it was addreſſed. This book, which was bold for the age in which it was written, had long to ſtruggle againſt the remains of the League; it is ſtill the ſhield of an illuſtrious ſociety againſt ſtrange prejudices, which are every day loſing ground. Pithou oppoſed without intermiſſion, but with great moderation, the chimeras of Rome and Spain. His Life, written by M. Groſley, ſhould be read, to know the obligations both learning and his country owe to this illuſtrious man.

NOTE (44). *Gaucher de St. Marthe*, p. 17. —Gaucher de St. Marthe, one of the moſt learned men of the age, was always faithful to his ſovereigns, whatever religion they profeſſed; and to his country, notwithſtanding its injuſtice. He never could be prevailed upon to join the League: he rather choſe to baniſh

baniſh himſelf and family for five years from Paris and Poitiers, than to join that ſeditious party. When he returned, he was honoured with the title of Father of his Country, for having ſaved the town of Loudun from pillage, with which it was threatened by Joyeuſe in 1587. The year following he pleaded at the States of Blois, with as much firmneſs as energy, the cauſe of the king and the ſubject againſt the pretenſions of foreigners, who threatened to oppreſs the nation. In ſhort, he contributed more than any other perſon to bring back the city of Poitiers to their obedience, and to obtain honourable conditions for them from Henry IV. When Henry made his entry into the city, he would not permit them to be at any expence; he would not even receive the cuſtomary preſents, aſſuring them he only wiſhed for the hearts of his ſubjects. Amongſt other proofs of his good-will towards St. Marthe, he made him intendant of one of his armies. We are indebted to this patriotic writer for an ode on the battle of Ivry, another celebrating the learned men of his time, and a Latin poem on the education of children, &c. His life was long and blameleſs; he ended his long career in the reign of Lewis XIII. His funeral pomp was honoured by the regret of every good citizen, and with a public eulogium, ſpoken by the famous Urbain Grandier, his countryman: merit and virtuous humility was at that time permitted to partake of the diſtinctions uſually confined to perſons of high rank and birth. His brother and his ſon

nobly followed his example; the latter was the author of a ſhort poem called the Laurel: it was but juſt that ſuch a poem ſhould be dedicated to Henry IV. In another poem written immediately after the death of this prince, the author expreſſes in this manner the prayer of all France:

" *At vos, magnanimi ſanctique quieſcite manes*
" *Regis, quò melior nullus in orbe fuit.*"

In ſhort, the whole family of St. Marthe, by a glorious ſucceſſion of talents, patriotiſm, and virtues, have done honour to letters and learning, from Francis I. until theſe days. See Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de Poitou, Vol. III. p. 209, all the fifth volume, and particularly pages 169—176. 281—288. Eloge de Gaucher de St. Marthe, par Perault, titon du Tillet, p. 363, &c.

NOTE (45). p. 18.—An almoner of Henry the Fourth's, named du Peyrat, compoſed a very curious work under this title: *Les propos de Table du Roi Henri le Grand.* It was the reſult of queſtions debated by du Perron and others, perſons of learning and merit, by whom the king was ſurrounded during his meals. The duties of his office made him often witneſs of theſe converſations; but this collection never was printed, which was a real loſs to the public: it would have equalled *Les Propos de Table de Plutarque.* This abbé du Peyrat always proved himſelf very zealous

for

for the glory of Henry IV. to whom he owed his fortune, and during his life preſerved a tender attachment to his memory. He undertook a large work on the antiquities of the king's chapel, and this monarch, who honoured every kind of merit, aſſiſted him often in his reſearches; but at his death, he laid his pen aſide. He deſcribes his ſentiments with a moſt affecting ſimplicity: "I can ſay with "truth," adds he, "that by the deplorable "murder of ſo great a king, I remained ſo "oppreſſed with the weight of the public "misfortunes, and my own peculiar loſs in "ſo good a maſter, that I have words left me "only to deplore my misfortune, both in "proſe and verſe." Dedication to his Antiquities He never could pronounce the name of Henry without ſhedding tears of affection. To allay his grief, he employed himſelf in making a collection of all the funeral orations and all the verſes that had been compoſed on his death, and cauſed them to be printed. He withdrew from court, and lived a long time in retirement: the remembrance of his good maſter accompanied him, he was continually talking of him, and it was in his ſolitude that he made a collection of all the excellent ſayings of this prince. See the works of du Peyrat, and the Hiſtory of theKing's Chapel, by Monſ. Oroux, in 4to. two vols. pages 328, 329, 330, and 355.

Note (46). *Du Perron*, p. 19.—During the ſiege of Rouen, Gabrielle d'Eſtrées introduced the young Abbé du Perron to Henry IV.

See d'Aubigné, Hiſt. Univ. Liv. III. c. xiv. p. 405. Du Perron celebrated his benefactreſs and her lover in ſtanzas full of rapture:

" Grand roi, dont les malheurs elévent la vertu,
" Et ſervent de degrés à l'autel de ta gloire
" Qui plus as d'ennemis, moins te vois abattu;
" Auſſi fier au peril que doux en la victoire:

" Prince en tout accident par la ſort eſprouvé,
" Juſte ornement futur des hiſtoires fidèles;
" Qui par un art royal à toi ſeul réſervé;
" Pardonnes aux vaincus & domptes les rebelles:

" Les ſeuls traits élancés de la main de l'enfant
" Qui fait la guerre aux Dieux, treuvent le tien
" ſenſible,
" Et ton royal démon, des autres triomphant,
" Perd en ce ſeul combat le titre d'invincible.

" Heureuſe mille fois l'angélique beauté,
" Qui voit deſſous ſes pieds tant de gloire captive
" * * * * * * *
" L'or de ſes blonds cheveux, filets ſemés d'appas,
" Des peuples priſonniers tient les ames ravies, &c.
" * * * * * * *

" Puiſſent tes fiers ſujets diſtraits de leur devoir
" Qu'un eſprit factieux aux révoltes inſpire,
" Reconnoitre auſſi bien les loix de ton pouvoir,
" Comme tu reconnois celles de ſon empire."

Henry IV. enjoyed du Perron's turn of mind; his ſpirited and gallant converſation could not fail of pleaſing him: he fixed him near his perſon, and reſolved to give him ſome employment.

ment. He afterwards appointed him his ambaſſador to Rome, archbiſhop, cardinal, and at length grand almoner of France: as to this laſt place, Amyot had opened the road to it for thoſe who cultivated learning, but du Perron cloſed it. This office at that time gave him the preſidency of the king's library, and, if you may ſo call him, he was the miniſter of the literary department. It was he, therefore, who introduced the authors: he was the firſt who was ſenſible of Malherbe's merit, and who made him known to Henry IV. Du Perron, like a true courtier, was very aſſiduous about the monarch; he aſſiſted at his riſing, and during his meals he propoſed many learned or curious queſtions, converſed familiarly with him about poetry, authors, and Belles Lettres; at night he did not quit his bed-ſide; and to make him ſleep, read to him all the new romances. The cardinal had a printing-preſs in his country houſe at Bagnolet, where all his own works were printed, and he was his own corrector: he had always two editions printed; one for a ſelect number of ſkilful judges, whoſe opinions he collected, and the other he gave to the public, after having profited by the advice of his friends. Du Perron was not ſatisfied with compoſing love verſes, nor with making tranſlations from Virgil or Ovid; he was learned, though a wit. Henry took great intereſt in his literary labours, and ſometimes preſſed him to finiſh his works of controverſy, becauſe he always had hopes of bringing back the Proteſtants by perſuaſions, the only weapons that

this good prince would permit to be employed againſt thoſe of his ſubjects who thought differently from himſelf. It was on this occaſion that the cardinal du Perron wrote to him from Rome, after the king had appointed him grand almoner of France:

"Your Majeſty has been pleaſed to command me to proceed with my book; I promiſe you to work ſo hard at it, that I will not leave it until it is finiſhed. It ſhall be the triumphal arch, the column and the pyramid that I ſhall erect to you as a monument of acknowledgement and gratitude, to engrave upon it in letters of gold, or rather of diamonds, an inſcription of your favours." The original of this letter, dated 19th Oct. 1606, is in a collection of manuſcripts on Henry IV. belonging to the author of theſe notes, piece GG.

As for du Perron's public life, his enterpriſing temper, his embaſſies, &c. they will be mentioned in the account of the illuſtrious men of this reign. This man, loaded with honours, at the ſame time he was tormented with the gout, would have given his cardinal's hat, his biſhopric, and all his dignities and reputation for only his curate's health at Bagnolet *; his friends might well compare him to the ſtatue of Nebuchadnezzar, whoſe feet were made of clay, and head of gold: the cries his gout occaſioned were louder than the voice of his flatterers.

NOTE

* A village, of which he was the lord.

NOTE (47). p. 20.—*Jerome Bignon*, born in 1589, was an author when ſcarcely out of his infancy. At twelve years old he wrote a deſcription of the Holy Land; at thirteen, his Roman Antiquities; at fourteen, a Treatiſe on the Election of the Popes; and at nineteen, his book on the Excellence of the Kings and Kingdom of France, dedicated to Henry IV. Theſe works gained him the applauſe of the learned, and the eſteem of the monarch. He engaged him ſucceſſively in the education of Condé, Cæſar de Vendome, and the dauphin, near whom he placed him in quality of page of honour, that being agreeably deluded by the manners and exterior of this young ſcholar, they ſhould only regard him as the companion of their pleaſures, and that even their ſtudies ſhould have an air of childiſh amuſement. After the king's death, Bignon quitted the court and the nation, but returned to it again, for the ſupport of the laws, and the honour of magiſtracy. He died in 1656, "leaving a greater character as an author," ſays Voltaire, "than his works entitled him to."

NOTE (48). *Le Fevre*, p. 20.—He was a ſcholar as humble as he was virtuous, and whom Henry IV. went to ſeek even in his retreat. This prince wiſhed to entruſt him with the education of the prince de Condé, then preſumptive heir to the crown, in 1596. This wiſe man dreaded the court and its ſplendor, and therefore refuſed the monarch. De Thou and his other friends were obliged to employ all their intreaties to overcome his

reſiſtance, and could only prevail with him by ſhewing him the good it was in his power to do, by planting in the mind of his young pupil thoſe ſeeds of virtue which have ſo much influence over the happineſs of mankind. Le Fevre acquitted himſelf of this employment as a man who knew all the duties of his ſtation, and whoſe refuſal was not dictated by an affected modeſty. As ſoon as he had diſcharged this duty, he returned again to his books, and his agreeable ſolitude. They ſnatched him from it once more, to place him near Lewis XIII. who had juſt mounted the throne; but death carried him off almoſt immediately, which was undoubtedly a great misfortune, as he might perhaps have made the ſon more worthy of his illuſtrious father. Le Fevre never would allow his name to be put to his works. It is reported of him, that he lived in his retreat with all the politeneſs of a courtier, and at court with all the humility of a hermit. Dict. des Hom. Illuſt. en 6 vol. Voy. ſon eloge dans ceux de Sainte Marthe, p. 574—578.

NOTE (49). p. 20.—*Cayet* had been ſub-preceptor to Henry IV. When he became king of France, this prince admitted him to his court; and it appears by different paſſages in Cayet's writings, that he lived in intimacy with this monarch. In 1602, Henry gave him a houſe called Le fief d'Ambrulare, which he enjoyed until his death. Amongſt the numerous works of Cayet, who had long been a miniſter of the reformation, thoſe may be

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed which he compoſed by the expreſs order of Henry IV. to endeavour at reconciling the two rival religions, and even to prove to the Proteſtants, that they might enſure their ſalvation in the Roman Catholic religion. And to ſupport his reaſonings by an example, Cayet went over himſelf to that communion. The railing of the Proteſtants was general, and there was not a reproach unthought of by the miniſters of that profeſſion, to render this apoſtate odious. He was, however, made amends for it, by the confidence and friendſhip of his former pupil: the advantage he had of being near his perſon, gave him the idea of collecting materials for his hiſtory; but the principal production of Cayet, and the only one that has reſcued his name from oblivion, are the memoirs which he wrote under the title of *Chronologie Septenaire & Novennaire*; an excellent performance, filled with anecdotes and particulars of this prince's youth, which were the more valuable, as Cayet's account was not to be doubted, he being conſtantly on the ſpot, and almoſt the only one who has tranſmitted them to memory. So that notwithſtanding his faults, his prolixity and dull ſtyle, as well as his wrong-placed learning, this work is ſtill read with pleaſure, and conſulted with advantage; he appears to be a very impartial writer, a true and faithful friend to his king and country. Almoſt all thoſe who have written concerning this prince, have been indebted to it; and even at this time he is eſteemed one of Henry the Fourth's beſt hiſtorians. See

Bayle's

Bayle's Dict. art. Cayet. Journ. of Hen. IV. Vol. I. p. 432, new edit. Notes ſur la Conf. de Sancy. Chronol. Tom. II. p. 207, &c. Mem. ſur le College Royal, in 4to. p. 110. Cayet died two months before Henry.

Note (50). *L'Aſtrée*, p. 21.—L'Aſtrée, dedicated to Henry IV. was not publiſhed until 1610, which was the year of this monarch's death. But as Baſſompierre read part of it to him every night, this prince could not avoid being very eager to ſee the whole of the work. See Mem. of Baſſompierre, Vol. I. p. 185. The learned Huet, archbiſhop of Avranches, ſaid, this book was very agreeable to the prince, although the author was not ſo, becauſe Honoré D'Urfé, who was young, gallant, agreeable, and witty, had been his rival. This romance, of which only one volume came out at firſt, met with the greateſt ſucceſs: under the ingenious veil of allegory, the author deſcribed his own hiſtory, and ſome of the gallant adventures of Henry the Third's court. "The adventures of Aſtrée "were well known," ſays Patru, "but the "author has turned them all into romance." The great *Enric* meant Henry IV. *Daphne* was Gabrielle d'Eſtrées; *Alcidon* the Duc de Bellegarde; *Thoriſmon*, Henry III. *Galathée*, queen Margaret; *Delia*, Diane d'Etrées, &c. The author deſcribed himſelf under the name of *Celadon*, and his miſtreſs under that of *Diana:* theſe were all perſons as much celebrated in the annals of gallantry, as Julia and St. Preux have ſince been in thoſe of love.

The

The Romance of Aſtrée was an original, that has produced ſeveral very bad imitations.

NOTE (51.) p. 22.—*His Chancellor* (Silleri), and *his Conſtable* (Montmorenci). D'Aubigné in his memoirs, (which muſt be diſtinguiſhed from his life) and which appears only a wonderful romance, ſays, contrary to the teſtimony of Brantome, de Mathieu, and of all his cotemporaries, "That he one day "ſaw Montmorenci write ſix Latin verſes on "the bark of a tree, in praiſe of a lady whom "he loved." St. Foix confutes this anecdote, which had already been contradicted by itſelf.

NOTE (52.) *D'Elbenne and others*, p. 23.—Pierre D'Elbenne, Abbé de Bellozanne, was a man of a ready wit, of profound learning, and conſummate wiſdom: he had been much beloved by Henry III. and greatly pleaſed Henry IV. who had him always about his perſon. (Thuana, p. 33.) But he was carried off in the ſecond year of Henry's reign. He died at the age of forty, in the year 1590, a faithful ſervant both to the king and the ladies. Says L'Etoile, "he was very much regretted "by this prince, and by his friends: De "Thou, who was one of the number, com-"poſed ſome Latin verſes on his death which "are expreſſive of grief, and full of ſenti-"ment." See Memoirs De Thou in 4to. p. 197 and 294.

NOTE

NOTE (53.) *The liberty of printing and writing*, p. 24.—It is the cuſtom in France, that an unknown pen ſhould every year propoſe ſome new theſis in order to amuſe other writers by anſwering it, and this entertains the public without any other inconveniences. Mercure français, ſons l'ann. 1607, p. 227, &c.

NOTE (54.) P. 24.—There is ſtill remaining one of theſe manuſcript memoirs, which were ſometimes addreſſed to Henry IV. on public affairs. It is for the year 1596, and recals to our memory the famous examples of thoſe princes, who like him, after having triumphed over difficulties and dangers, had not been able to withſtand good fortune, and gave themſelves up to pleaſure ever after. The following line was quoted in it, the author of which is unknown to us.

"*Argus avoit cent yeux, amour les enchanta.*"

They made him feel the neceſſity of being ſeconded in his glorious enterpriſes: and they exhorted him to make choice of an able miniſter; they pointed out the marks by which this man might be known, and the year following, Sully was at the head of affairs. Diſcours intitulé: *de la Confidence*, manuſcrit du tems; Recueil in fol. ſur Henry IV. piece cotté Q.

NOTE (55.) p. 24.—This work is a deſcription of the Iſland of Hermaphrodites, a very cutting ſatire on the court of Henry III.

which

which appeared in 1605. Many of the courtiers who were deſcribed there in their true colours, complained to the king of the boldneſs of the author. Henry would ſee the work and cauſed it to be read to him, and though he found it rather too free and ſevere, he contented himſelf with learning the name of the author, but would not allow him to be ſought after and puniſhed, it was ſufficient he ſaid, for thoſe who were accuſed to correct themſelves. See Journal de Henry IV. Tom. II. p. 75; and Tom. III. notes, p. 278. This author was Thomas Artur, a ſcholar very little known, but who had written commentaries on the life of Apollonius, which were much eſteemed. And why ſhould not Henry forgive an author for telling the truth, who had himſelf ſo often pardoned even his own perſonal injuries. We have mentioned many examples of it, and amongſt others that of the furious libeller Orleans, the avocat general de la Ligue, whom Henry ſet at liberty. The very day he left his confinement, the king walking in the Thuilleries, permitted *Orleans*, who was alſo there, to ſalute him as he paſſed, and the monarch told him he believed he was an honeſt man, and that he would always continue ſo. Overcome by ſo much goodneſs; he from that time laviſhed as many eulogiums upon the king as he formerly had abuſes. See Journal de Henri IV. Tom. III. p. 88, note. We muſt mention an inſtance of another kind which will ſhow how far the goodneſs of Henry's heart, and the extreme lenity of his temper carried

him.

him. At the hotel de Bourgogne there was performed a ſort of farce, very full of pleaſantry, in which the king was charged with an inclination to avarice: he was preſent at the performance, and laughed very much. The financiers, who felt their ſhare of the ridicule, did not take it ſo well: and they put the performers into priſon; but Henry being informed of it, gave them their liberty the ſame day, and treated thoſe people as fools who were angry at this piece of drollery: "I am certainly," ſaid he, "more intereſted "than they are, but I pardon them with all "my heart, and cannot be diſpleaſed with "people who have diverted me, and made "me ready to cry with laughing." Journal de Henri IV. année 1607. Lewis XII. was equally expoſed to the buffoons of his time: they repreſented him as on a public theatre drinking gold out of a cup; which greatly diverted the ſpectators: "I had much rather," ſaid this good prince, "ſee my courtiers "laugh at my parſimony, than to know my "ſubjects weep at my extravagance."

Note (56.) *Jeannin*, p. 25.—The preſident Jeannin was one of the greateſt miniſters of his time: and next to Sully was the moſt in Henry the Fourth's confidence, but we ſhall only ſpeak of him here as a learned man, and a protector of letters, to which Jeannin entirely owed his fortune, and was always proud of it: he continued to cultivate literature, and never ceaſed to employ his credit, his advice and his purſe for their advancement.

"During

" During his embaſſy in Holland," ſays L'Etoile, " he ſhewed his generoſity towards " learned men, and principally at Leyden " where Scaliger refuſed a purſe of 1000 " crowns which he offered him." Journal de Henri IV. Tom. II. p. 276. It was his cuſtom once a year to give a magnificent dinner, to which all the men of letters who had penſions from the king were invited; after being very kindly entertained, this great man entreated them all to continue in the ſervice of the king and the public, and then paid them their annuities in ready money. He begged they would not viſit him again, for that time was very precious to people of their profeſſion, and that he ſhould think himſelf much more obliged to them, if he knew they were in their ſtudies, than if he ſaw them every day at his door. Eloge de Jeannin par Sanmaiſe; Rappellé dans les notes de celui de M. Guyton de Morveau, p. 95. When Charron's Treatiſe on Wiſdom firſt appeared, a great cry was raiſed againſt this excellent work from all parties: the ſale of it was forbid, and an attempt was made to influence the parliament, the ſorbonne and the univerſity, &c. to puniſh the author. Jeannin diſſipated the ſtorm: he convinced them that a production of this nature was not written for common underſtandings, and that it was neceſſary to let it have a free circulation; " Not," ſaid he, " as a book of devotion, but as a book of " politics." Thus the enlightened firmneſs of this miniſter ſaved France the ſhame of having proſcribed this work, and perſecuted its author.

thor. We have ſaid, that Jeannin had the deſign of writing the life of Henry IV. there is even reaſon to believe, by many paſſages in the Preſident's Letters, that the work was far advanced; but nothing now remains of it except the preface. This hiſtory would have been a moſt valuable work, written by a man ſo capable of telling the truth, and under a ſovereign ſo worthy of hearing it. See Preface de la vie de Henri le grand, dans les ouvres de Jeannin, in Fol. 1656, p. 742. Some days before his death, Henry preparing to ſet out for the execution of ſome of his great deſigns, ſaid jokingly to the Preſident, that he was thinking of providing himſelf with a good horſe to follow him in all his enterpriſes. He told Mathieu alſo with the ſame air of pleaſantry, that he was going to furniſh him with new ſubjects to augment his hiſtory. The virtuous Jeannin ſhall be more particularly noticed in the account of famous men in Henry the Fourth's reign.

NOTE (57.) *De Thou*, p. 26.—The Preſident De Thou was known to Henry IV. long before that prince was king of France: he mentions in his memoirs, that he went to pay his court to him at Nerac in 1581, and that Henry ſhewed him his gardens there, and which he himſelf directed, and took pleaſure in embelliſhing with all the productions of nature. Being an eye-witneſs to the misfortunes of his country, this magiſtrate left Paris after the day the gates were ſhut. He was at Venice when he learnt the death of Henry III.

when

when he haſtened to pay his duty to his ſucceſſor, Henry IV. who being charmed with his learning, as well as his integrity, employed him in the moſt difficult affairs. After the death of Amyot, the king truſted De Thou with the care of his library: which equally proved the value he ſet upon this precious depoſit, and the protection he granted to learning. De Thou continued to diſcharge his duty as a faithful magiſtrate, he negotiated with the Proteſtants, and helped to appeaſe the troubles of Bretagne: he was one of thoſe whom the king choſe to aſſiſt in digeſting the edict of Nantz. Yet in the midſt of this multiplicity of buſineſs, both public and private, he found time, for the glory of his country, and the inſtruction of poſterity, to write a hiſtory of an age abounding with revolutions, and great events. As ſoon as it was known, that this work was ready for publication, thoſe, who feared the voice of truth, did all in their power to ſuppreſs it. Clamours were raiſed on all ſides amongſt the nobility, the clergy, and the jeſuits. Henry IV. declared himſelf the protector of this work. De Thou acknowledges it in that charming epiſtle which we have already quoted, in which he ſays, it is the king himſelf who commanded to ſilence the cries of the fanaticks, the nobility, and the leaguers, and without whom this hiſtory would, perhaps, never have ſeen the light. See Henry the Fourth's Letter to M. Bethune, his ambaſſador at Rome, May the 4th, 1604, de Thou in Fol. Tom. VII. chap. II. p. 2. In ſhort, notwith-

notwithſtanding the ſingular protection which Henry afforded this hiſtorian, he could not prevent his books being placed in the Index at Rome, by decree of the holy inquiſition in the year 1609: the ſame decree which condemned the ſentence of the parliament of Paris againſt the parricide *Jean Chatel*. De Thou as a relaxation from his labours cultivated poetry; but he only wrote Latin verſes, tranſlations of which have been inſerted in his memoirs. When Henry IV. diſpatched him to the duke de Nevers in 1589, he compoſed as he travelled the Ode which begins thus:

" Prince, ſur qui l'Europe à maintenant les yeux,
" Viens recevoir le prix que la vertu te donne;
" Viens porter la Couronne
" Que portoient tes ayeux."

He celebrated the great events of Henry's reign in his verſes on the battle of Ivry, as he foreſaw that this victory would be the forerunner of peace, and of all the bleſſings attending it:

" Les poëtes alors qui ſont ſous ta puiſſance,
" Verront leur front couronné de Lauriers;
" Illuſtre et noble récompenſe
" Des Chantres du Parnaſſe et des fameux guerriers."

There are many beautiful paſſages in his poem addreſſed to poſterity, of which this is the beginning:

" Toi qu'on ne peut corrompre, equitable avenir,
" Quand on m'attaquera, daigne me ſoutenir;

" I'ai

" J'ai travaillé pour toi, j'attends ma recompenſe
" De ton jugement ſeul, et de ma conſcience;
" Si mon travail te plait, juſte poſtérité?
" Que pourra contre moi le vulgaire entêté?
" Sa jalouſe critique et ſes faux témoignages
" Ne flétriront jamais mon nom, ni mes ouvrages:
" Un jour viendra ſans doute où l'envie et l'erreur
" Ne lancant plus les traits d'une injuſte fureur,
" Ce qu'on blame aujour d'hui trouvera lieu de plaire,
" Et l'on rendra juſtice à ma plume ſincere, &c."

This day has long ſince been arrived: thus in the ſame manner I. B Rouſſeau who was perſecuted by his cotemporaries addreſſed his beautiful ode to poſterity, and the other Rouſſeau, ſtill more eminent and more unfortunate, wrote his dialogues, wherein he truſts his innocence and fame (yet unacknowledged) to ſucceeding ages, which his writings will amend, relying on futurity for that juſtice and praiſe, which the falſe reputation of his rivals deprived him of, in his own time.

Note (58.) *Mathieu*, p. 28.—Henry the Fourth's proceedings towards Mathieu were the more generous, as that prince had great reaſon to complain of this writer: he had been a fanatic, a leaguer, and was bought by the Houſe of Lorraine. In a truly pitiful tragedy called la Guiſiade, or the death of the Guiſes, he had abuſed the king of Navarre in a moſt dreadful manner, and many times called him an apoſtate. In the ſame pieces he made one of Henry the Third's confidents ſay to him:

" Sire,

" Sire, l'on vous menace,
" Que le peuple mettra de Guiſe en votré place,
" Qu'on vous enfermera comme inutile et ſot,
" En ſecond Chilpéric, dans un cloitre devot."

Such in effect was the project, and the aim of the princes of Lorraine's politics, but Henry IV. having triumphed over them, forgot all their errors and paſt faults. Mathieu was introduced to him by Jeannin, who had himſelf been in the league. The king gave him as favourable a reception as if he had not been acquainted with his connections, his abuſe, or his verſes, and never after ſpoke to him on that ſubject. From this time he retained this protegé of Jeannin, near his perſon, gave him the brevet of hiſtoriographer of France, if he ſhould ſurvive du Haillan, and afterwards added to it the title of counſellor of ſtate. This noble and uncommon manner of being revenged cauſed the laſt editors of *la Diatribe tragique de Mathieu* to ſay, " It muſt " be confeſſed this prince's diſpoſition was " truly generous, after the treatment he had " received from him, to ſuffer Mathieu to " approach him, and even to honour him " with his favours." See Vol. III. Henry IV. Journal laſt edition. But Henry had no cauſe to repent of his conduct, his goodneſs changed the hearts, as well as the fortunes of moſt of the leaguers: Mathieu proved it, if not by uncommon talents, at leaſt by his zeal and his labours. This ſatirical poet, became a laborious hiſtorian, and his enquiries have not been uſeleſs to his ſucceſſors. Beſides many other

other works which he has rather aukwardly put together, we have a hiſtory of Henry IV. of his writing, which Perefixe has deſtined to oblivion, but in which, nevertheleſs, are many particulars not to be met with any where elſe, and alſo a hiſtory of France, in two volumes in folio, filled with curious anecdotes of this king's reign, which alone nearly fills the ſecond volume. The author ſays in his preface, that he laboured at it for twenty years, by order of Henry, who furniſhed him with the principal materials. His moral verſes are his only poetical works which we remember, and they are united with thoſe of Pibrac:

" Liſez moi, comme il faut, au lieu de ces ſornettes,
" Les Quatrains de Pibrac et les doctes tablettes,
" Du Conſeil'er Mathieu ; l'ouvrage eſt de valeur."
MOLIERE.

NOTE (59.) *Du Haillan*, p. 28.—He was the firſt who undertook to unite in a body the annals of the nation ; he had the courage to break through the uſual method of writing in detached pieces, and the art of putting together in a more methodical manner, the ſcattered ſhreds of our old chronicles ; but if he corrected ſome of theſe ancient errors, he ſuffered a great number to remain : yet that ought not to prevent our doing juſtice to his attempts ; he was the only one who could poſſibly be read before Mezerai, beſides which he always ſhewed himſelf a good citizen, and was very tenacious of his country's honour. During the heat of the troubles, he remained

faithful to the king; the day the gates of Paris were ſhut, his furniture, his books, and his manuſcripts, were all plundered, and himſelf drove out with the reſt of the king's friends, and he did not return to Paris, but with Henry IV. This prince treated him with much diſtinction. The firſt marechal de Biron writing to him from the field of the battle of Ivry, an account of that celebated day, thus concluded his letter: "My dear "friend, you will ſoon be near the king, and "we ſhall ſee each other more frequently." In 1594, he dedicated his book, on the ſtate and ſucceſs of the affairs of France, to this monarch, a work full of bold and uncommon things; he renewed his promiſe of continuing his hiſtory down to Henry the Fourth's reign, which however he did not execute, for Du Haillan died the ſame year with Henry IV.

NOTE (60). *Peleus*, p. 29.—See his *epiſtle dedicatory* to queen Margaret of Medicis, at the beginning of his Second Volume of the Hiſtory of Henry IV. This writer did but ill anſwer the king's expectations, if he had any merit as a lawyer, he certainly had none as an hiſtorian, which was plainly proved, ſince the great name of Henry IV. was not able to ſave his hiſtory from oblivion. Henry rewarded his good intentions, by giving him the title of hiſtoriographer and counſellor of ſtate.

NOTE (61). P. 29.—*The greateſt part of the works were dedicated to him.*

It

It would be equally tedious and diſagreeable to give a liſt of theſe works, and more particularly from the year 1598, during the time of the peace, until 1610; every grateful muſe was eager to celebrate that æra, and Henry might without much vanity regard this voluntary and peaceful homage, as expreſſive of the ſentiments of the nation, which after ſo many evils began to breathe under his reign: and after having ſo well deſerved to be applauded, he might, without bluſhing, hear praiſes like thoſe which were written under his ſtatue, when he made his entry into Metz in 1603. Theſe lines were there written:

" Le Roi qui fit pour nous un Monde de Merveilles
" Dont la protection diſſipa nos malheurs,
" Verra vivre à jamais ſon nom à nos oreilles,
" Son image à nos yeux, ſes bienfaits à nos cœurs."

In ſhort, on his ſubject poetry and hiſtory had but one language.

NOTE (62.) *Paſquier*, p. 30.—Paſquier's reſearches, his letters, and above all his pleadings gained him a great character which he has partly preſerved until this time. The manners, the laws, the cuſtoms, the public rights, and the liberty of the nation, our original prerogatives, our ancient poetry, and even the alteration in the French language, have been the object of his enquiries: they comprehend every part of our ancient conſtitution; which Paſquier has obſerved is the true deſign of hiſtory: he has neglected

all accounts of battles, quarrels, &c. to give us a picture of the manners and character of the nation. This work is the moſt valuable of his performances, as for his pleadings by which he gained the greateſt reputation, they have ſhared the ſame fate with other writings of that kind; particular circumſtances, the ſpirit of party, perſonal diſlikes and revenge cauſed their great ſucceſs, which they never would have gained by their own merit: there is no one at this time who has reſolution enough to read them. The cauſe againſt which Paſquier declared himſelf, was at that time eaſier attacked than defended, it perhaps is not the ſame at preſent.

His collection of letters in Vol. III. preſerve to us a number of curious anecdotes and facts which deſcribe the manners of the age. In the ſecond volume of theſe letters from the 14th Book to the 20th is a collection of bon mots of Henry IV. which the author has written after the manner of Plutarch.

NOTE (63). *Satire Menippée*, p. 31.—A number of learned men, beaux eſprits, and good friends to their country, enraged at the behaviour of the Leaguers, and the odious means they employed to prevent the people from acknowledging Henry IV. Paſſerat, Pithou, Florent Chrétien, Rapin, the king, &c. joined in compoſing this ingenious performance, known by the name of *Satire Menippée*, the beſt ever written in our language, before *les Lettres Provinciales*. This was an original production, where, under the veil of ingenious irony,

irony, they pleaſantly unmaſked the ambitious deſigns of Spain, the ſecret intrigues of the Guiſes, and the hypocritical zeal of the Leaguers; for reaſon becomes more powerful when it takes the form of ridicule, anſwers much better, and ſtrikes more forcibly. The form in which it was written was a happy invention, and the execution was admirable. This ſatire was publiſhed in the middle of the winter of 1593, and as ſoon as it appeared, it reconciled all the well-meaning of both parties. Its ſucceſs was prodigious, and it went through three editions in three weeks. The eyes of the nation were opened, and ſome months afterwards the gates of Paris were alſo opened to Henry IV. amidſt the acclamations of all the inhabitants. The *Satire Menippée* was thus called from Menippus, a cynic philoſopher, who was famous for the fire and energy of his ſatires. Varron among the Romans, publiſhed a collection of writings of the ſame kind, to which he gave the title of *Satyræ Menippeæ*; and it was with that name the philoſophers of thoſe times choſe to tear off the maſks which the Leaguers had ſo long worn.

NOTE (64). *The king's library*, p. 32.— Charles V. ſurnamed the Wiſe, that is to ſay, the Learned, was the founder of this royal library; and it was regarded as a prodigy, that this prince ſhould have been able to collect nine hundred volumes. It increaſed very ſlowly in the ſucceeding reigns; but on the revival of letters under Francis I. that friend

to the arts enriched his library with all the Greek manuſcripts he could get, which he cauſed to be procured for him at great expence from the Eaſt. But this treaſure was far from receiving any additions under his grandſon, and, ſcarcely yet completed, it was almoſt entirely diſſipated by the avarice and wantonneſs of the Leaguers; for during the civil diſcords, every body appropriated a part to themſelves, and all contended for this precious booty. At length Henry IV. deſtined to heal all the wounds of France, having entered the capital, gathered together the ſcattered remains, and added to it new treaſures. To the library of his anceſtors he added the remains of that of the Valois. The Cardinal of Bourbon pretended that this belonged to him, and that Henry III. had given it to him: but the king told him, "it belonged to the "crown, and could neither be ſold nor given "away; that he had officers, and ſhould take "better care of it than he would do; and "beſides, that he being an archbiſhop and a "cardinal, he was rich enough to buy ano-"ther." One of the greateſt inconveniences attending this library was, its not being within the reach of men of letters; it had been before this time at Blois, at Fontainebleau, &c. and it may be ſaid it uſually travelled as part of the king's equipage. Henry wiſhed to fix it in the capital, and truſted it in the care of the Jeſuits and Cordeliers ſucceſſively, till he could provide a place more worthy to receive it, which, as we have already ſaid, he had determined ſhould be in the middle of the

Royal

Royal College, as the centre of learning. He let no opportunity eſcape of augmenting this collection, which became every day more uſeful. Catherine de Medicis had left a library particularly rich in Greek manuſcripts, which were extremely valuable; it was a diviſion of the famous library of the family of Medicis. All theſe books had been ſeized by this queen's creditors; Henry had them appraiſed by the brothers Pithou, and paid the full value of them to the creditors, and added them to his library, from which he declared they never ſhould be ſeparated. "We "have fixed a value upon theſe books," ſaid the learned commiſſioners, "although "they cannot be ſufficiently eſteemed, be-"cauſe they are ſo good and ſo ſcarce, "that they are not to be met with any "where elſe; beſides, that a great number "of them were never before printed: and "the ſaid books, which are originals, and "not copies, are worthy to be preſerved in "the kingdom, for the uſe of poſterity, for "the preſervation of learning, and the honour "of France, as well as the impoſſibility of "collecting a library of equal value, in any "country, or at any price." Theſe manuſcripts are ſtill the moſt valuable of this literary treaſure. De Thou, keeper of this library, had thoſe new bound which had ſuffered the moſt from time, ſo that the greateſt number of the books which compoſe this royal library are bound in red Morocco, with the king's cypher at the four corners, thus: "H. IIII." and in the middle are either the

arms of France, or this motto: "*Henrici IIII. "Patris Patriæ virtutum reſtitutoris.*" See the memorandum at the beginning of the firſt volume of the catalogue of printed books in the king's library; Traité des plus belles Bibliothéques, au 7 vol. de De Thou, in fol. à la fin, p. 57, & 88; même vol. Thuana, p. 200; & l'Eſſai Hiſtorique, de M. le Prince, p. 31, 33, 37, & 264.

We have ſaid, that Henry IV. ſent as far as Morocco in ſearch of Arabian manuſcripts; the learned Etienne Hubert, profeſſor of that language, and afterwards the king's phyſician, was charged with this honourable commiſſion, bearing the title of the king's agent; but not ſatisfied with his firſt diſcoveries, Henry IV. ſent him a ſecond time into Spain, to collect all the beſt phyſical books compoſed by the Arabians, or written in their language, and to converſe with thoſe of that nation who inhabited the kingdom of Valentia. The Arabians were at that time held in the greateſt eſteem; they had been the reſtorers of medicine in Europe: the Averroés and the Avicennes were the oracles of this conjectural ſcience. Hubert formed the plan of a college of phyſicians in France, who learned from him the language and the ſecrets of thoſe maſters in the art; and they made ſuch great progreſs, that they have long had no reaſon to envy the Arabians. See Mem. ſur le College Royal, in 4to Part III. p. 96.

Note (65). *The Reform of the Univerſity of Paris*, p. 36.—See the account of this reformation,

formation, and of the ſtatutes which were given by Henry IV. in his hiſtory, written by Crevier, Vol. VII. from p. 60, to the end. Thoſe authors who wrote in the happy ages of Rome and Athens were alone recommended. They baniſhed from their claſſical ſtudies all ſchool divinity, as well as the remains of ancient ruſticity, &c. &c. Many abuſes were put a ſtop to, all exceſſes and riots among the ſcholars forbid, which having got to a great height, it was looked upon as a very bold undertaking to repreſs them; which occaſioned later hiſtorians to ſay, that Henry was the firſt who had the courage to give laws to the univerſity. Hiſt. of Paris, in 8vo. Vol. I. p. 34. They baniſhed from this place of learning all thoſe who profeſſed any arts which were likely to divert young perſons from their ſtudies, or to corrupt their morals; all muſicians, dancers, buffoons, &c. The law, or rather the ancient cuſtom was aboliſhed, which obliged the profeſſors to a life of celibacy, a relic of thoſe unciviliſed times, when none but churchmen were able to read; and that ſhameful cuſtom of purchaſing places by intrigue or intereſt, which ought to have been given to merit, was alſo forbidden. The ſtatutes which included every object of ſtudy or diſcipline were regiſtered in the Parliament of 1600, where, after the Preſident De Thou had explained his majeſty's intentions, "who "wiſhes," ſays he, "once more to make the "univerſity of Paris flouriſh, as being the "moſt ancient academy of the kingdom, "deſtined to inſtruct his ſubjects in law,

"ſciences, and religion, on which chiefly "depended the dignity of the ſtate, and the "happineſs of the people." Four cenſors were appointed, to ſee that the regulations were ſtrictly attended to.

NOTE (66.) *Jeſuits de la Fleche*, p. 36.—Henry IV. having conceived a deſign of drawing the French nobility from that ignorance in which they had ſo long remained, gave the Jeſuits, in 1603, the houſe of La Fleche, where the king of Navarre his father was married, for a college, and paid the penſions of a great many young gentlemen, who were inſtructed there in all kinds of exerciſes. In 1609, theſe fathers obtained of the king an hundred thouſand crowns, in order to enlarge the building, and increaſe the number of ſcholars. Sully, who diſliked the Jeſuits, made objections to granting them this ſum; but the king inſiſted his orders ſhould be obeyed. This monarch condeſcended to employ himſelf in rendering the eſtabliſhment more uſeful and conformable to his intentions. When he had re-eſtabliſhed the Jeſuits, they were accuſed before the king with having drawn to themſelves all the fine ſcholars of the age; "and for this very reaſon," ſaid the king, "do I eſteem them." At the death of this monarch, they had thirty-five colleges in France, which were wholly ſupported by his liberality and magnificence. He had even procured them the liberty of building a college at Conſtantinople. Voy. Chronologie Septenaire, 1604. Henri IV. Journ.

Journ. 1609. Mercure Francois, Vol. I. p. 484. & Vol. II. p. 170. Sully's Memoirs, 1606, Vol. III. p. 68, 69. Eſſais ſur les Honneurs Litteraires, p. 365, & 367. Compte rendu des Compte rendus, Tom. II. p. 399, & 404.

NOTE (67). *Royal College*, p. 37.—Francis I. founded the Royal College in 1530; that is, he eſtabliſhed twelve profeſſors to teach the learned and oriental languages, as alſo mathematics, philoſophy, and oratory; but he did not aſſign them any fixed place in which to keep their ſchool. During the reign of Henry II. their leſſons were given in the colleges of Cambray and Treguyer. Notwithſtanding Charles IX. has been ſo much talked of for his love of letters, he never did any thing to promote them. The profeſſors were obliged to wander about, and give their leſſons even in the ſtreets, and were very ill paid thoſe rewards which were due to their zeal. Religious wars came ſuddenly upon them, which was ſucceeded by the fatal day of St. Bartholomew!—Terrified with this ſhocking affair, both ſcholars and profeſſors fled away, and out of five hundred, only fifty remained; and during the diſturbances of the League, it was totally deſerted: the ſchools were either ſhut up, or uſed as ſtables. The triumphant Henry re-eſtabliſhed order in every place. The profeſſors again opened their ſchools; and to the former ones he added a new one on anatomy, a ſtudy which in the reigh of Francis I. was eſteemed

ſacrilege, as alſo another on botany, and eſtabliſhed a phyſic garden at Monpellier, which was the firſt ever ſeen in France, but has ſince ſerved as a model to many others. In ſhort, he conceived a deſign, as we have before mentioned, of building a royal college where thoſe of Cambray and Treguyer ſtood; but it was ſcarcely begun, when death put an end to all his ſchemes. Yet it did not appear to be wholly abandoned, and the workmen went on, though as ſlowly as poſſible. One part of the building, which was put a ſtop to in 1634, continued unfiniſhed until our time, when it has been completed, and an edifice built which is more worthy to contain men of letters, and to do credit to thoſe kings who protect them. Voy. l'Hiſt. du College Royal, par M. l'Abbé Goujet, 1 Vol. in 4to. ou 3 Vol. in 12mo. & note ſur le Journal de Hen. IV. nouv. edit. Tom. III. p. 550.

NOTE (68.) *Tedious Speakers*, p. 39.—Henry deteſted long ſpeeches; his lively and noble mind ill accorded with thoſe common vulgar panegyrics, thoſe unmeaning expreſſions, ſo learnedly tedious, in which all the eloquence of thoſe pretended Ciceros of that age conſiſted, and of which one proof will be ſufficient:—A province which had joined in the League, deputed one of theſe tireſome ſpeech-makers to addreſs Henry; but being much embarraſſed by his long ſentences and his high-flown praiſes, out of which he found it difficult to extricate himſelf, the king ſaid to him, "I underſtand your meaning;

" ing; you would wiſh to tell me, that the " province belongs to me, and not to the " duke of Savoy."

NOTE (69). *Fauchet*, p. 40.—The adventure which we have already mentioned happened at St. Germain, where the king was employed in building. Fauchet going thither to ſolicit him for a penſion, found him in the garden, looking at the workmen employed in finiſhing a ſtatue of Neptune, to ornament a baſon. One of them was at that time forming the beard of the god; as ſoon as the king perceived Fauchet, who always wore a long one, " There," ſaid he to the ſculptor, " is the exact pattern of the beard we want." The principal work of Fauchet's was the *Antiquités Gauloiſes & Françoiſes*, which is very learned, but ſo badly digeſted, that the author is frequently unintelligible; and it was this book which gave Lewis XIII. a diſlike to reading: and ſo far it may be ſaid, that a great book is a great evil. Voy. Niceron, Tom. XXV. Tablettes des Rois de France, Tom. III. p. 28, 29, &c.

NOTE (70). P. 40.—The manner in which Henry received the maker of anagrams, and the taylor who wanted to form new laws, &c. recalls to our mind a converſation this king held with a counſellor, who came to the queen, to preſent her with a panegyric on the Virgin Mary:

Henry. " How many cauſes have you " pleaded?

Counſellor.

Counſellor. "Five, Sire.

Henry. "How many of them did you gain?

Counſellor. "Only two, Sire."

The king then looking at Madame de Guiſe, "Couſin," ſaid he, "I will give you "this man for your counſellor."—"I am "much obliged to your majeſty," replied ſhe, "but ſince he has only gained two cauſes "out of five, he will not do for my buſi- "neſs."—"Ventre Saint Gris," ſaid the king, "you muſt not ſay ſo; for as he is now "become the Holy Virgin's counſellor, he "muſt in future be ſucceſsful in all his "cauſes." Every body laughed much at this remark, except the poor counſellor himſelf, who was never again tempted to write. Voy. l'Etoile, Tom. II. p. 300.

NOTE (71.) P. 41.—Theodore de Beze, at the age of eighty, came to ſee Henry, who was then beſieging the fort of St. Catherine, near Geneva, he was received with many marks of kindneſs, and the king even preſented him with five hundred crowns to teſtify his eſteem for this venerable old man, *whom he might juſtly honour with the title of Father.* De Thou livre 125 cite par Teiſſier addition à ſes eloges Tom. II. p. 367 and 368 Voy. auſſi Memoirs de Sully Tom. I. p. 499.

We have obſerved that this event happened in 1600, and that then Henry was become a catholic, and that it was no longer the chief of a ſect whom he honoured in Theodore de Beze,

but

but a man of merit long celebrated for his graces and underſtanding, which qualites are more conſpicuous in his Latin poems which he entitled *Juvinilia*, and which are well known to all men of letters. They are to be found in the nineteenth volume of the fine collection of Barbou.

NOTE (72.) P. 42.—This Rhimer, who was ſaid to be a pupil of Malherbe's as if poets could teach their art like mechanics, was Porcheres d'Arbaud, a provincial. The ſonnet which was aſcribed to him, and which was ſo nobly paid for, begins with theſe lines:

" Ce ne ſont pas des yeux ce ſont plutot des dieux,
" Ils ont deſſus les Rois la puiſſance abſolue, &c."

He alſo compoſed another on the beautiful Gabrielle's hair, which he addreſſes thus:

" Doux Chainons de mon prince agreables ſupplices
" Blonds Cheveux," &c.

The curious may find theſe verſes, in an old collection called Muſes Françoiſes, Fol. 61, and p. 286, and anecdotes des Réenes and des Maitreſſes. Tom. VI. p. 66 and 68. This Porcheres lived long enough to be a member of the French Academy.

NOTE (73.) *Henry the Fourth's Letters*, p. 46.—The note which ought to be in this place, will be ſeen at the end of the book, where we propoſe to make a collection of Henry the Fourth's letters.

NOTE

NOTE (74.) P. 49.—This valuable letter for thoſe who love hiſtory, and which unveils miſteries of which we ſhall perhaps ſpake hereafter is taken from the original manuſcript of la Rocque Garde du corps of Henry IV. and an eyewitneſs of the principal events of his life, particularly, when he was king of Navarre.

NOTE (75.) *Henry the Fourth's Speeches*; p. 58.—That which we have already related is the fineſt he ever ſpoke, but not the only one which deſerves to be recorded. Thoſe to the clergy, to the parliament, and to his people are chef d'ouvres of ſenſe as well as monuments of his great goodneſs, every word conveys a meaning. They are not ſtudied diſcourſes, but made extempore without any previous thought. It were circumſtances at the very moment which gave proofs of the readineſs of his wit and judgment, as well as of the ſenſibility of his heart, and in this conſiſted the whole of his eloquence. His ſpeeches were very ſeldom written, but collected by his auditors, tradition alone has tranſmitted them to poſterity, for which reaſon there will doubtleſs be ſome ſmall variations. During the ſecond ſiege of Paris, in 1690, the cardinal de Gondé, and the archbiſhop of Lyons, came to him deputed by the Leaguers to demand a truce: "I am no diſſembler," ſaid he to them, "what my heart dictates I ſay frankly and "ſincerely. I ſhould be to blame to tell you "I do not wiſh for a general peace, for it is my "earneſt deſire. To gain a battle I would

"give

" give one of my fingers, but to bring about
" a peace I would give two. As to my city
" of Paris I regard it as my firſt born child,
" I am jealous for its happineſs, I will beſtow
" more favours on it, and ſhew it more mercy
" than it even can demand, but I would have
" it ſenſible of my clemency, and know that
" it is obliged to me for it, and not to the
" duke De Mayenne, or to the Spaniſh king.
" Had they procured peace for it, or the fa-
" vours I am ready to grant, then would it be
" obliged to them, and be to them indebted
" for that kindneſs which it now owes to me,
" and would regard them, and not me as
" their deliverers, which I ſhall not allow. It
" is too prejudicial to the city of Paris to
" defer capitulating any longer. There are
" already ſo many people dead with hunger,
" that in eight or ten days, more than as many
" thouſands may follow, which would be
" dreadful indeed! I am the true parent of
" my people, and like the real mother in
" the judgement of Solomon had much
" rather have no city of Paris, than that it
" ſhould be ruined and deſolated by the death
" of ſo many of its inhabitants. The Lea-
" guers are not of this opinion. They care
" not how Paris is torn to pieces, provided
" they have a part of it: but then they are
" Spaniards or at leaſt are Spaniardiſed.
" You, Monſieur Cardinal, ought to have
" pity on them, they are your flock, for the
" ſmalleſt drop of whoſe blood you are an-
" ſwerable to God. And you alſo, Monſieur
" de Lyon, who are the primate of all bi-

" ſhops

" ſhops, I do not pretend to be a good theolo-
" giſt, but I know ſufficient to tell you, that
" God does not underſtand your treating the
" poor people committed to your care in ſuch
" a manner, in order to pleaſe the king of
" Spain, Bernardine Mendozza and Monſieur
" le Legate. You will have your feet well-
" warmed for it in the other world. And
" how can you expect to convert me to your
" religion when you take ſo little care of the
" lives and ſalvation of your flock: it is
" giving me a very bad ſpecimen of your
" piety, and by which I ſhould ill edify."
Voy. Tom. I. de la Satire Menippée Notes, p. 450, & ſuiv. At the concluſion of the peace the clergy ſent deputies to Henry to give him an account, unfortunately too faithful a one, of the diſorders which reigned in the church. " I acknowledge," anſwered he, " that what you tell me is true, but I am not " the author of theſe evils, they were intro-
" duced before my arrival. During the war
" I ran where the flames were hotteſt, in or-
" der to ſtifle them, now that we are at peace,
" I will act as the time of peace requires.
" I know that juſtice and religion are the
" pillars and foundation of the kingdom, and
" were they totally aboliſhed, I would endea-
" vour to reſtore them, but it muſt be by
" degrees as I do other things, by God's
" aſſiſtance I will do it in ſuch a manner
" that the church ſhall be in the ſame
" ſituation as it was in the time of Lewis XII.
" but it is neceſſary by your good examples
" to repair what bad ones have deſtroyed,

" and

" and that vigilance ſhould recover what ne-
" glect has loſt. You have exhorted me to
" do my duty, I requeſt you to do yours, let
" us each do our parts, you take one road, I
" another, if we meet ſo much the better.
" My predeceſſors have given you magnificent
" ſpeeches, and I, without any ornament,
" will give you good deeds, I am all grey
" without, but all gold within." Mercure France, ann. 1598, Bury Tom. III. p. 133 and 134, Perefixe, p. 243, 244, avec quelque differences; Journal de Henri IV. Tom. II. and Bibliotheque du Roy, Vol. 407. des Manuſcrits de Du Puy. When the parliament came to remonſtrate with him on the edict of Nants, he thus anſwered them, " Gentlemen, you find me in my cabinet,
" where I ſhall talk to you, not like my pre-
" deceſſors in royal robes, nor like a prince
" receiving his ambaſſadors, but in a plain
" dreſs like the father of a family when he is
" converſing freely with his children. When
" my ſubjects give me good advice I take it
" kindly, and follow it, and when I find their
" opinions better than my own I very wil-
" lingly give up mine. There is not one of
" you to whom I would not readily liſten,
" were you to come and ſay, *Sire, ſuch an act of*
" *yours is contrary to all reaſon.* There muſt
" no longer be any diſtinction made between
" Catholics and Hugonots, it is neceſſary
" they ſhould all be good ſubjects, and that
" the Catholics ſhould by their good exam-
" ple convert the Hugonots, I am a ſhepherd
" who will take care not to ſpill the blood of

" my

" my ſheep, but endeavour by mildneſs to " collect them together, &c. &c." We have not given the whole of this excellent ſpeech on account of its great length, it will be found in Mathieu, Hiſtoire des ſept annees de paix du regne de Hen. IV. Tom. I. p. 210, & ſuiv. & dans Bury, Tom. III. p. 161, 166. We are in poſſeſſion of a manuſcript of the times, a Volume in Folio, Part I. where there are ſome conſiderable variations.

NOTE (76.) *The queen, Elizabeth, wrote to him, &c.* p. 61.—This is the concluſion of one of her letters: " I promiſed myſelf the " happineſs and pleaſure of embracing you " as being your faithful and loyal ſiſter and " ally, and you my moſt dear brother whom " I love and honour more than any thing in " the world, whoſe incomparable virtues I " admire, and above all your valour in arms, " and your politeneſs and courteſy to the " ladies, &c. &c." Voy. Sully's Memoirs in Fol. Tom. II. p. 16. Voy. auſſi dans le recueil de Boderie, the letter in which Henry IV. ſays, that Elizabeth had choſen him as her chevalier. This queen wrote to him after the battle of Aumale to entreat he would pay more regard to his perſonal ſafety. Bury, Tom. II. p. 149.

NOTE (77.) P. 70.—The fame of his valour ſpread even to the eaſt. There is an undoubted proof of this in a letter from the grand Seignior, which we think curious.

" Amurath,

" Amurath, by the grace of God, great " emperor of Conſtantinople, &c. &c.

" To thee, Henry king of Navarre, ſprung " from the invincible race of Bourbon, I wiſh " health and long life, on account of thy great " clemency and mercy, and thy being left at ſo " early an age by thine anceſtors. The fame " of thy greatneſs, and the magnanimity of " thy valour has reached even to this place, " as alſo that Don Philip of the Houſe of " Auſtria, openly favouring thine enemies, " endeavours to deprive thee of thy lawful " ſucceſſion to the kingdom of France, which " is in alliance with us, notwithſtanding thy " diſlike to the worſhip of idols, &c. &c. If " it is agreeable to thee I will diſpatch two " hundred ſail of ſhips, to land at the port of " Aigueſmortes, with as much expedition as " the caſe requires." This letter tranſlated from the Greek, by a writer at that time, ſtill remains in the king's library. Vol. 9037, Fol. 22, des manuſcrit de Bethune. Henry did not accept of Amurath's offer, but in 1604, he made an honourable treaty of alliance with the Sultan Achmet his ſucceſſor, which was very advantageous to commerce; it was there ſettled, that all the nations in Europe, the Engliſh included, might trade freely in the ſea ports of the Levant, under the protection and the colours of France. " This " treaty was more remarkable," ſays Le P. Henault, " for being printed in the Turkiſh " and French languages, at the office for " printing the Arabian, Turkiſh, and Per-

" ſian

" ſian languages, which plainly proves, that " there was at that time, Arabian and other " oriental characters, even before the Poly- " glotte Bible of Le Jay." Abrégé Chronologique ſous l'annee 1604.

NOTE (78). *At the tables of his friends, whom he loved to ſurpriſe*, p. 74.—Liberty and gaiety were the life of theſe repaſts, but it was Sully in particular, whom he ſo much liked to ſurpriſe at the Arſenal; one day, among many others, they were ſo chearful, and Henry experienced ſo much pleaſure in theſe familiar and friendly converſations, that he ſaid to Sully, " Come to me and embrace " me, for I love you equal to your merits, " and find myſelf ſo happy here that I ſhall " ſtay to ſupper, and ſleep here, and ſhall not " go to the Louvre to day." The next day, after tranſacting buſineſs with Sully alone in his cabinet, they came and rejoined his courtiers, but dinner not being ready, they converſed on different ſubjects, both ſerious and lively; at length the converſation fell on great men, and the qualities by which they gained that title, every one gave their opinion. Henry addreſſing himſelf to Sully, aſked him which of theſe celebrated men he would wiſh him moſt to reſemble? Sully then run over a liſt of the ancients, took a review of all the princes, who were famous in hiſtory, came afterwards to the kings of France and their cotemporaries, compared them together, drew their pictures with rapidity, and aſſigned to each their good and bad qualities: " And " now,

" now, Sire," ſaid he, " I leave you to de-
" termine which of theſe great princes you
" would like beſt to reſemble, to ſet the bad
" and the good together, and ſee whether you
" would loſe any thing by it, you have moſt
" undoubtedly ſurpaſſed them in many par-
" ticulars." " In order to do this properly,"
ſaid the king, " I muſt conſider with more
" attention all you have ſaid of each perſon,
" both good and bad, but as dinner is ready we
" have not time for it. It muſt be deferred to
" another opportunity, and I deſire you will
" have it drawn up in writing, and I will
" then tell you what I think of that and
" your laſt words, which you only added,"
ſaid the prince, jokingly, " in order that I
" might find you entertainment the more ex-
" cellent." This converſation laſted all dinner time, after which Sully confeſſed to the king that two days before he had by chance again read over the extracts he had formerly taken of the lives of theſe great men, and that it was owing to this circumſtance he was indebted for the learning he had juſt made a diſplay of. This converſation he wrote down and gave to the king, it is now to be found in the memoirs of this great miniſter. Voy. cet Ecrit au Tom. III. p. 282-290, et l'Extrait qu'en à fait M. de Bury, premiere page, de ſa Comparaiſon de Henri IV. avec Philippe de Macedoine.

Note (79). P. 76.—This is not the firſt time that two great men have been mentioned together,

together, undoubtedly Henry IV. was in every reſpect worthy to be taken as a model, and this prince Henry has given more than one proof of his love and veneration for his patron. One day coming to viſit *Ivry*, where the famous battle was fought, this great general was buſied in reflecting on that celebrated day, when a young ſhepherdeſs of *Anet* came up to him, unperceived, to place a crown of laurels on his head. The prince immediately took it off again, and put it on the pedeſtal of the pyramid erected to the memory of Henry IV. Mercure du 20th of Novembre, 1784.

NOTE (80.) *Henry IV. began to write memoirs of his life*, p. 80.—The teſtimony of Caſaubon is ſufficient, but Titon du Tellet, in his Eſſays on literary honours, p. 416, alſo mentions the memoirs written by Henry IV. which, he ſays, are preſerved in the king's library, and theſe are traditions, which are credited even in theſe days: and the author of *d'Orphanis*, who has deſcribed the tender paſſion in ſuch ſweet language, in the *Heroide de Gabrielle d'Eſtrées* to Henry IV. expreſſes himſelf thus, in one of his notes on this piece: "It is not publicly known that "Henry IV. followed Cæſar's example, and "wrote commentaries on the campaigns he "had made, but they were never finiſhed. "I have been aſſured, that this manuſcript "found at his death amongſt his other papers, "is actually in the king's cabinet." M. Blin de

de Sainmore had this anecdote from one of Voltaire's friends.

NOTE (81.) *His mother, ſiſter, &c. made verſes*, p. 80.—Knowledge, ſenſe, and a taſte for poetry, Henry inherited from his mother's family, both ſhe and her ſiſter wrote verſes, and ſpoke Latin, and his grandmother was the famous queen of Navarre, Margaret de Valois, ſiſter to Francis I. who has rendered herſelf immortal by her poems and her tales. It has been obſerved, that ſhe was the firſt French woman who cultivated letters with ſucceſs. Every body has heard of the queen of Navarre's tales, written in imitation of Bocace, and her poems were printed in 1547, under the title of *Marguerites de la Marguerite des princeſſes, tres Illuſtre Royne de Navarre.* Theſe poems are very little known, and much leſs read than the tales. Margaret of Valois, according to the faſhion of the times, was called the tenth muſe and the fourth grace, but what was more ſtrange and redounded more to her honour, ſhe really deſerved theſe titles. She had at her court three Engliſh ladies of the name of Seymour, who were all ſiſters, and of extraordinary beauty, who alſo made verſes. They were called the three Engliſh graces. Voy. ſur la Reine de Navarre, De Thou, annee 1549, ſon art. dans Bayle; le Vol. II. du parnaſſe des dames; Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliotheque, &c. As to Jane d'Albret her daughter, ſhe had for many years been inſtructed by Nicholas Bourbon, who was her preceptor, and one of

the moſt learned men of the age, but her poems were never collected together, and are only to be found mixed with thoſe of Joachim du Bellay, who having congratulated her on the birth of the duke de Beaumont, afterwards Henry IV. Jane d'Albret anſwered him in verſe: ſhe alſo wrote verſes for the beautiful *Limeuil*, and we learn from a cotemporary writer that this great princeſs, *Royne d'un bel Eſprit*, had wrote lamentations both in proſe and verſe, on princes being purſued even to their deaths, and obliged to fly with their infants in the cradle. In ſhort, this royal muſe compoſed many poems which may be found in modern compilations. She was a friend to all the arts, and going one day to ſee the famous printing houſe of Robert Etienne in 1566, ſhe made extempore the following lines:

" Art ſingulier, d'ici aux derniers ans,
" Repreſentez aux enfans de ma race,
" Que j'ai ſuivi des craignans Djeu la trace,
" Afin qu'ils ſoient les memes pas ſuivans."

Voy. recueil des poeſies de Joachim du Bellay, Tom. II. Fol. 44, Vol. 45, 46 and 47, and Livre VI. p. 32. Recreations Hiſtoriques, Tom. I. p. 283, et ſuiv. Anecdotes des Reines, Tom. IV. p. 444. Eſſais ſur les honneurs Litteraires, p. 368. Hommes Illuſtres de Sainte Marthe, p. 71 & 72.

Catherine of Bourbon, ſiſter to Henry IV. followed the ſteps of her mother and grandmother; when very young ſhe played finely on the lute, and ſhe ſung ſtill better, and alſo made

made pleaſing verſes *. Never was a princeſs ſo often diſappointed in marriage, however ſhe conſoled herſelf, and repeated with gaiety theſe words:

"*Grata ſuperveniet quæ non ſperabitur hora.*"

This hour did come, and was the end of her happineſs. She endeavoured to chace away her gloom, by an intercourſe with the muſes, but from that time her verſes were all of a religious turn, and partook rather too much of the melancholy ſtate of her mind, although they were neither deficient in harmony or ſweetneſs. They chiefly conſiſted of tranſlations or rather imitations of the pſalms, which ſhe ſent to Theodore de Beze to be corrected. Both the verſes and letters of this princeſs were communicated to us by M. le Conſeiller Tronchin, ſuch favours, beſtowed with ſo much politeneſs and kindneſs, will doubtleſs have many imitators. All theſe three princeſſes were proteſtants, and when Catherine was ſolicited to become a Catholic, "No;" ſaid ſhe, "I will never "be of that religion, where it is neceſſary for "me to believe my mother is damned."

Both the mother and ſiſter of Henry IV. have their names inſerted in the liſt of illuſtrious perſons who honoured his reign.

NOTE (82.) *He employed the beſt writers of his time*, p. 82.—Henry had not always leiſure to write poems to his miſtreſſes, we have ſeen

* Hiſt. du Duc de Bouillon, Tom. I. p. 222.

one of his letters to Gabrielle, in which he ſays, " theſe verſes will explain more fully " and more agreeably my ſituation, than proſe " would have done. I dictated them my- " ſelf, but did not put them into order." To arrange them properly he had recourſe to the beaux eſprits of the age, Bertaud his almoner, Malherbe, the biſhop of Evreux, the du Perron, all in their turn aſſiſted him with their pens. The laſt made verſes, ſometimes in the king's name to the beautiful d'Eſtrees, and ſometimes in her name to her royal lover. He was a faithful interpreter of their mutual ſentiments, and was never ſuſpected of deceiving them as afterwards happened to Benſerade, who acted ſo myſteriouſly with regard to the letters of Lewis IV. and Madame de Valiere. When Du Perron wrote for Gabrielle, to Henry, he deſcribed all the delicacy of love, its hopes, its fears, and its torments, when he uſed his pen for Henry, he told his fair miſtreſs:

" Roine de mes penſers, & ma flame derniere;
" * * * * * * *
" Ton image tonjours dans mon cœur ſera peinte:
" Gardant ce temple ſaint pour cette idole ſainte,
" D'autre object deſormais je ne puis etre atteint, &c.

It was alſo for the Marchioneſs de Verneuil, that the gallant biſhop of Seez, exerciſed his poetical talents in praiſe of her beauty, and deſcribing her tenderneſs after having celebrated her eyes, her hair, her neck, and all the

the charms ſhe poſſeſſed without going too great lengths, he thus finiſhes :

" En voyaut des beautés ſi dignes de louange,
" Pour ne les louer pas, il ſaut être un rocher ;
" Et pour les bien louer, il ſaudroit être un ange."

And Malherbe, under the name of Alcandre, recorded the charms of Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, who appeared at court for the firſt time, in 1609, adorned with every grace of youth and beauty :

" A quelles roſes ne ſait houte,
" De ſon teint la vive blancheur ?
" Quelle neige à tant de blancheur,
" Que ſa gorge ne la ſurmonte ?
" Et quelle flame luit aux cieux,
" Claire and nette comme ſes yeux ?

" Soit que de ſes douces merveilles,
" Sa parole enchante les ſens ;
" Soit que ſa voix, de ſes accens,
" Frappe les cœurs and les Oreilles ; &c."

Alcandre writes in another place lines replete with harmony :

" Je ſers, je le confeſſe, une jeune Merveille,
" En rares qualites, à nulle autre pareille, &c."

Voy. les ouvres De Malherbe, De Bertaud, De du Perron, & L'Extrait qui s'en trouve dans les Anecdotes des Reines & Maitreſſes, Tom. VI. p. 78, & ſuiv. p. 111, 131, 159, 190, 192, 198, 203.

NOTE (83.) *Poem to Aurora*, p. 83.—This poem is alſo ſaid to be written by Henry IV. Monſieur de la Borde in his *Eſſais ſur la Muſique*, in 4to. Vol. IV. which is a work equally intereſting and curious, informs us ſo. He even gives us a verſe more than was in the manuſcript which we have communicated, where it ſhould be placed between the firſt and ſecond verſes, theſe are the lines:

" Pour entendre
" Sa voix tendre,
" On deſerte le hameau;
" Et Tytire
" Qui ſoupire
" Fait taire ſon chalumeau.

NOTE (84.) *Our theatre was ſtill in its infancy*, p. 86.—The divine art of Sophocles and Euripides, did not exiſt in the time of our gothic anceſtors, farces of the moſt abſurd nature, though of a devout tendency called *Myſteries*, and others as equally ſtupid, called *the Prince of Fools*, a title equally worthy the authors, the actors, and the ſpectators, were the only pieces performed for the entertainment of the public for more than four hundred years; when a Frenchman attempted a dramatic piece, after the manner of the ancients, in the year 1552, for it was then, that *Jodelle*'s Cleopatra came out, and Dido followed ſoon after. Theſe two pieces made a great change in the mode of writing. Nature had not yet been

been ſtudied, but merely the authors who were beſt known. *Jodelle*, aſſiſted by the genius of Virgil, although he had only compoſed one dramatic piece according to rule, had found out the way to intereſt his audience, they ſaw with aſtoniſhment, a new ſource of beauties taken from human nature. This bold attempt ſucceeded ſo well as to give an idea of pleaſure, hitherto unknown: and the intereſting Dido occaſioned as many tears to be ſhed in France, as ſhe had formerly done to the Romans, by the enchanting picture made of her, by the prince of their poets. Theſe plays were performed with extraordinary magnificence. Jodelle was well received at court, but died in an hoſpital.

More ſenſible of the glory which Jodelle had gained, than terrified by his melancholy fate, Garnier ſet out in the ſame path, having imbibed ſentiments from the tragic writings of Seneca, he brought forward to the French ſtage a few of its beauties, with every one of its faults, he exhibited bold and vigorous ſtrokes, gave models of greatneſs and virtue, which ſurpriſed people, and raiſed them above themſelves; and ſo great was the enthuſiaſm which was excited by *Hippolyte*, *Porcie*, *Cornelie*, *&c.* that Garnier was placed by his countrymen above Sophocles and Euripedes, and becauſe he had ſurpaſſed Jodelle, they thought he had done the ſame by all other authors, and that he had effaced all the chef d'œuvres of the ancients, which the common ſpectators had no knowledge of. It is moſt probable that this art would have made great

progreſs from that time, had not the dreadful civil war, by putting the citizens in arms, turned their minds from every other object. The arts, the ſciences, and all human knowledge, were at a ſtand, and the theatre in particular, felt the effect of theſe fatal diviſions, ſince it required the protection and countenance of the citizens, whom it ſtill contributes to reunite. But what ſupport could this divine art meet with at a time when their ſovereigns were trembling for their ſafety as well as their crowns? what intereſt could a Frenchman take in ſeeing repreſented on the ſtage fictitious tragedies, at a moment they were ſuffering under real evils, and making all Europe witneſs to the tragic ſcenes, in which they themſelves acted, both as the heroes and the victims? It is not at ſuch a time when they furniſhed the theatre of the world with ſuch ſhocking ſubjects, and ſuch horrible cataſtrophies, that they could be enough compoſed to attend theatrical amuſements, beſides which, it would no longer be a juſt imitation in which all its merit conſiſted, but a repreſentation of frightful realities, from which they muſt retire with horror.

But when Henry IV. had at length reſtored them to a calm, and brought back peace in her triumphal car, every thing was changed, the arts again flouriſhed, and the French theatre may date her exiſtence from the peace of Vervins, the happy years of the reign of Henry IV. and the beginning of that celebrated age, which afterwards went by the name

name of Lewis XIV. * Hardi, who at firſt only followed a wandering company of comedians, at length obtained permiſſion for them to eſtabliſh themſelves in the capital, and to effect this, they had occaſion for all the king's protection againſt their rivals the Confreres de la Paſſion, who pretended an excluſive right to amuſe or weary our anceſtors. Born with an aſtoniſhing quickneſs of thought, and readineſs of invention, Hardi, for near thirty years alone ſupplied the theatre with plays, he was the real founder of the French ſtage, though Corneille afterwards was called the parent and maker of it. Hardi was the moſt laborious writer that ever was known, he wrote near eight hundred plays, of which fortunately not above forty remain. His firſt attempts were applauded, as for a long time the ſtage had only exhibited ſhocking ſcenes, and bloody murders; but from him they received more pleaſing amuſements, and better calculated to employ the mind, and fill up the leiſure hours of the good citizens, to whom plays became now a neceſſary entertainment. They were not difficult, and Hardi alone furniſhed their daily repreſentations, and if he wanted any thing new to awaken their atten-

* Hardi's firſt pieces were written in 1594 and 1595, but were not acted at Paris till near 1600, when Shakeſpear, by his genius alone, created the Engliſh theatre; his firſt plays were written in queen Elizabeth's reign, but it was in the reign of James I. that he obtained a patent for acting plays throughout the kingdom. Before this aſtoniſhing man, the Engliſh like us, had only diſguſting farces, moralities, and myſteries.

tion, this inexhauſtible writer opened his Plutarch, and put into verſe ſometimes well and ſometimes otherwiſe, the French of Amyot, and every one of the lives divided into five equal parts, formed each a play. The poet went through the whole life of the hero, and in eight days made a new piece entirely free from all dramatic rules:

" Là ſonvent le heros d'un ſpectacle groſſier,
" Enfant au premier acte, eſt barbon au dernier."

He neither attended to the three requiſite unities, or to decency and good-breeding. The number of pieces which Hardi wrote will aſtoniſh people: " But," ſays Fontenelle, " when they come to be read, your aſtoniſh-" ment will ceaſe." Sometimes he repreſented a courtezan in bed, who ſupported her character by her converſation; ſometimes his heroine is violated; and ſometimes a married woman has a meeting with her gallant, where their indecent behaviour on the ſtage left very little for the ſpectators to imagine. Yet in ſpite of the ſhocking indecency and bad taſte with which Hardi's compoſitions were wrote, he was admired for the ſweetneſs and force of his verſes, which his language had acquired, and that theſe entertainments, even by their faults as well as novelty, could not avoid giving pleaſure to ſpectators who had no compariſon to make, and who had not yet exerciſed their feeling, or acquired a more delicate taſte. This author has ſince been much cenſured, and perhaps with juſtice: nevertheleſs,

nevertheleſs, it was he who gave to his pieces a more theatrical form; and it muſt be owned with Sarrazin, *that he had actually drawn his tragedies into France out of the midſt of the ſtreets and highways.* He was the Æſchylus of France, as Jodelle was the Theſpis. He pointed out the way to thoſe who wiſhed to purſue the ſame road; and his faults have been a means of preventing others. The French ſtage ſoon after took a more regular form, and acquired more decency and dignity. The revolution was not tedious; it was completed in leſs than twenty years. This fruitful and newly diſcovered mine was cultivated by men of great genius; they ſoared high, in order to arrive at that path from whence ſo many palms are to be gathered, and where talents receive their full reward; a path ſo much the more ſeducing, as even diſguſt does not prevent the entering into it, and where our ſublime actors not having yet arrogated to themſelves the right of fettering talents, or being ſupreme judges of genius, content themſelves with being only the modeſt inſtruments of it. Theophilus gave the firſt wound to the reputation of him who had ruled the theatre above thirty years. Racan, in his *Bergeries*, produced ſcenes very judiciouſly connected; the language was elegant and eaſy, and the dialogue well ſupported. Hardi's numerous works dared no more to appear; like many other writers of tragedy, he outlived his reputation, and a rival ſtill more formidable, which was *Mayret* in his *Sophoniſba*, completed the ruin of this old

Father

Father of the Theatre. Soon after this, Rotrou disputed with Mayret for the sceptre of Melpomene; but a new champion arose, and by one single effort, threw them to the ground, and darted himself to the end of the career; he set aside the limits to which the art had hitherto been confined, and left it no other bounds but that of judgment. Conqueror over all his rivals, for near two ages, they have never been able to get the better of him; and seated with the theatrical crown on his head, the teeth of these serpents may be employed a thousand years, before they can deprive him of the smallest degree of his renown. In spite of the malice of his detractors, and the unsuccessful criticisms of inferior authors, and the more insidious praises of his rivals, his glory will never fade; and he may always cry out, as in the time of his triumphs, when his renown was first disputed, "*am I on* "*this account any other than the great Cor-* "*neille?*"

Note (85). *Henry favoured the establishment of another theatre at Paris*, p. 86.—We do not speak of the buffoons or Italian comedians, called *Gli Gelosi*, who came into France at the time when every Italian fashion was adopted at the court of Medicis, to which they were frequently recalled, and driven away. Henry IV. retained the company *d'Ysabelle Andreini*, and Sully paid their pensions in 1608. Mem. de Sully, Tom. III. p. 446.

The

The firſt public theatre was that of *l'Hotel de Bourgogne*, where French actors, who ſucceeded to the *Confreres de la Paſſion*, acted jointly with them the plays of Iodelle and his ſucceſſors. At the concluſion of the peace, the players, who had rambled about the provinces, aſked and obtained from Henry IV. permiſſion to fix themſelves in the capital: they had at their head a man who never ceaſed to furniſh their performances with novelties: on this theatre were acted the eight hundred pieces of Hardi, and this is the origin of the *Troupe du Marais*. Theſe two companies were united, and continued to act for more than half a century, until Lewis XIV. gave Moliere permiſſion to eſtabliſh a third theatre at Paris, which they called *la Troupe de Monſieur*, *Frere du Roi*, or *la Troupe de Moliere**. After this great man's death, his performers divided themſelves between *la Troupe du Marais*, and that of *l'Hotel de Bourgogne:* one played Racine, and the other Pradon. At length theſe two rival companies were united again ſome years after †, and only formed one theatre, which afterwards went under the name of the *French Comedians*.

Permit us to make one remark on this ſubject: it is very aſtoniſhing, that in the infancy

* Theſe performers acted at the Palais Royal, then called Palais Cardinal, in a hall, which, at the death of Moliere, 1673, was given to Sully to eſtabliſh the Opera there.

† In 1680 and 1688, they came and ſettled themſelves au Faubourg St. Germain.

fancy of the art, there were already in the capital many companies devoted to the daily repreſentation of thoſe kind of plays; but that as ſoon as their writings began to improve and multiply, they were diminiſhed in the ſame proportion; ſo that in an age when our riches in this article was ſuch as no people in the univerſe could ſupport, at a time when the rage for public ſhews was riſen to ſuch a height, that every one ſeemed to cry, "*Panem & Circenſes*;" it is very ſurpriſing, I ſay, that they liked better to increaſe the number of thoſe dramatic pieces, in which good ſenſe, taſte and decency were equally inſulted, and ſtill more ſcandalouſly to exhibit them upon the ſtage, rather than to grant the nation another theatre, which reaſon and taſte required, and which was deſired by all men of learning, as the only means, if it was not yet too late to retard the decay, and prevent the fall of this fine art, which for an hundred and fifty years had been the pride and pleaſure of France, and which, more than her victories, had contributed to the adoption of her language, and the propagation of her glory, through all the nations of Europe.

NOTE (86). *Henry IV. might, in the courſe of nature, have lived to ſee the firſt chef d'œuvre of the French Stage*, p. 87.—The *Cid* was acted in 1636, twenty-ſix years after the death of Henry IV. but Sully, who was only ſix years younger than his friend, did not die till one and thirty years after him, in 1641. He ſaw *le Cid, les Horaces, Polieucte, Cinna*, and almoſt all

all the works of the great Corneille. It is remarkable, that Corneille, Le Pouſſin, and Deſcartes, the firſt men in their different lines, were all born in the reign of Henry IV. The encouragements which this prince had granted to learning and to the arts, and above all, the inſtitutions of which he laid the firſt foundations, formed, or at leaſt prepared the greateſt part of the learned men in the age of Lewis XIV.

NOTE (73). *(Mentioned before.) Deſign for a collection of letters written by Henry IV.* p. 46. —Henry the Fourth's letters to Manaud de Batz, which were unknown till this time, were communicated to us by M. le Baron de Batz, deſcended from him in a direct line on the father's ſide. This Manaud de Batz was peculiarly beloved by Henry IV. who called him his *Faucheur*, undoubtedly on account of his valour. This brave man had the glory of ſaving Henry's life at the taking of Euſe in Armagnac, in 1576. The king often reminded him of it in his letters, with a grace and energy of gratitude, which did as much honour to the king as to the ſubject; and, amongſt others, in this:

" Monſieur de Batz, it is true, that a vile
" diſagreeable man has endeavoured to make
" me ſuſpect your fidelity and affection. As
" to what he told me, my ears, to be ſure,
" were open, but my heart refuſed to give
" him credit. On every occaſion, as well as
" on this, you may rely upon me. In whom,
" but

" but yourſelf, could I place my confidence
" for the preſervation of the town of Euſe,
" where no better example could be ſhewn
" than your own bravery? And whilſt you
" remember how miraculouſly I was pre-
" ſerved by your valour and reſolution, you
" cannot forget your duty; therefore I be-
" ſeech you to remember it continually for
" my ſake, which will remind me of my gra-
" titude to you and your's. I have no other
" command to give you, but always to de-
" pend on the friendſhip of

" Your's,

" HENRY."

Amongſt theſe letters, the following, of which we have quoted a paſſage in the foregoing book, is ſo intereſting to us, and that paſſage ſo ſublime, that we were eager to have it known: it is worthy the ſoul of this excellent prince; no one but himſelf was at that time capable of writing ſuch a letter:

" Monſieur de Batz, I have heard with
" pleaſure the ſervices that you and Monſieur
" de Roquelaure have done to religion, and
" the ſafety you have particularly granted to
" thoſe of my Pays de Bearn in your caſtle
" de Suberbye, and alſo your offer of the ſaid
" caſtle, which at this time I accept; for
" which I give you my thanks, and beg you
" to believe, that though you are a Catholic,
" I have not the leſs confidence in you on
" that account. Thoſe who act right from
" conſcience,

" conſcience, are of my religion; and mine
" is that of all thoſe who are good and
" valiant. I ſhall ſay no more on this ſub-
" ject at preſent, only to recommend to you
" the place you have in my heart, and to be
" on your guard againſt any reports, which
" cannot fail of coming ſoon to your ears;
" this I rely upon, as you ought to do on
" your moſt aſſured and beſt friend,

" HENRY."

This letter, and a number of thoſe which we have been able to get a ſight of, has long given us an idea of publiſhing a ſelect collection of Henry's letters. We ſay a ſelect, not a complete collection; for of them there would be many volumes. It is aſtoniſhing, the number of letters that remain of this king's writing; and how a prince who led ſuch an active and unquiet life, could find time to write ſo much. There are near three thouſand in Sully's Memoirs; many more in the king's library, and in the different cabinets of Europe, and more yet in the hands of the deſcendants or heirs of thoſe men who were the companions of his glory and his labours. It is theſe ſcattered remains of the goodneſs, the ſenſe, and the valour of Henry IV. which we propoſe to re-unite. We have already collected a great number of them; but thoſe which are known, only give us a greater deſire to ſee the reſt. With pain we find theſe precious relics, the faithful depoſitary of the ſoul of the beſt of kings, buried in the duſt of libraries, or con-

founded

founded amongſt family papers; almoſt loſt to that public, ſo deſirous of all that concerns this great man. If the fragments that we have related give a great idea of the rapidity of the ſtyle, and the livelineſs of Henry's imagination, there are others not leſs intereſting, though longer, where you may follow the different emotions of his ſoul, and in reading of which you will partake his troubles, his hopes, his griefs, and his pleaſures; in ſhort, all the ſentiments by which he was animated. It appears to us, that a collection of ſuch letters would make a moſt valuable book: we will neglect nothing for the attainment of them. Every perſon who is in poſſeſſion of any letters of Henry the Fourth's, in which are any characteriſtic traits, any ſtriking remarks, or unknown anecdotes, which they may think worthy of entering into ſuch a collection, are intreated to communicate them: they ſhall be faithfully copied from the originals, which ſhall be immediately returned. We ſhall make no uſe of letters that have only his ſignature, becauſe, in them, it is not Henry, but his ſecretaries who ſpeak. The letters we want muſt be originals, written with his own hand; no copies will be received, except we may be allowed to compare them with the originals, unleſs theſe copies are taken from the public records, certified by the governor and keeper of thoſe truſts.

Theſe letters being collected, we ſhall take our choice, and not publiſh them till we have a number of them intereſting enough to anſwer our idea of Henry IV. There will be added

to

to them hiſtorical notes concerning the people to whom they are addreſſed. It is a monument we are willing to raiſe to the memory of this prince, ſo much the more glorious, as he provides all the materials for it himſelf; and which at the ſame time will do honour to that ancient nobility, to thoſe brave Frenchmen, to all orders of the people, (for he diſdained not to write to the humble citizen); in ſhort, to all thoſe who, in his misfortunes, ſerved him generouſly with their councils, their knowledge, their money, or their ſwords; and who aſſiſted him in conquering, in making his kingdom flouriſh, and in immortaliſing his reign.

The name alone of Henry IV. is ſufficient to recommend this undertaking, which requires a great ſhare of patience, and which can only be executed by a ſtrong love for his glory; a love which no other king could inſpire. The author of this deſign only deſires the honour of being Henry the Fourth's editor; he thinks he ſhall deſerve more praiſe from his country, if he fulfils this voluntary taſk, than by producing his own poor performances.—Even people of moderate talents do themſelves honour by aſſociating with great characters; while the greateſt genius would be diſregarded by copying after others.

P. S. A very important obſervation to be made concerning theſe letters of Henry IV. is, that many people flatter themſelves with having them, who are deceived, and this is a very common error. Many of theſe have been preſented

preſented to us, which are entitled *Henry the Fourth*'s *Letters*; and indeed being written in his time, bearing dates which agree with the years of his reign both in Navarre and in France, and ſigned *Henri de Bourbon*, are very eaſy to be miſtaken. Yet theſe letters are not of his writing: he never ſigned *Henri de Bourbon*, but only *Henri*. I never once ſaw this cuſtom altered. After this remark, one muſt conclude theſe letters were written by another prince; all that are ſigned in that manner, were either written by Henry de Bourbon prince de Condé, or Henry de Bourbon duc de Montpenſier, who lived under Henry IV. one of them when he was only king of Navarre, and the other when he was king of France.

THE END.

Letter from HENRY IV. *in the original Spelling, alluded to in Note* (73), p. 183.

" Monſieur de Batz, j'ay entandu avec
" pléſyr les ſervyces que vous & Monſieur de
" Roquelaure avez fet à ceuls de la relygyon
" & la ſauveté que vous partyculyérement
" avez donnée anvoſtre chaſteau de Suberbye,
" à ceuls de mon Peys de Bearn, & auſſi
" l'ofre que je accepte pour ce tems de voſtre
" dyt chaſteau, dequoy je vous veux byen
" remerſyer & pryer de croyre que combyen
" que ſoyes de ceuls là du Pape, je ne avés
" comme le cuydyés, mesfyance de vous
" deſſus ces choſes. Ceus quy ſuyvent tout
" droyt leur conſyance ſont de ma relygyon,
" & moy je ſuys de cele de tous ceus la quy
" ſont braves & bons. Sur ce je ne feré la
" preſente plus longue, ſynon pour vous re-
" commander la place qu'avés en meyn &
" d'eſtre ſur vos gardes pour ce que ne peut
" faylyr que ne ayés byentôt du bruyt aus
" oreyles; mes de ceus là je m'an repoſe ſur
" vous, comme le devés fere ſur voſtre plus
" aſſuré & mylleur amy,

" HENRI."

30
65
JAN